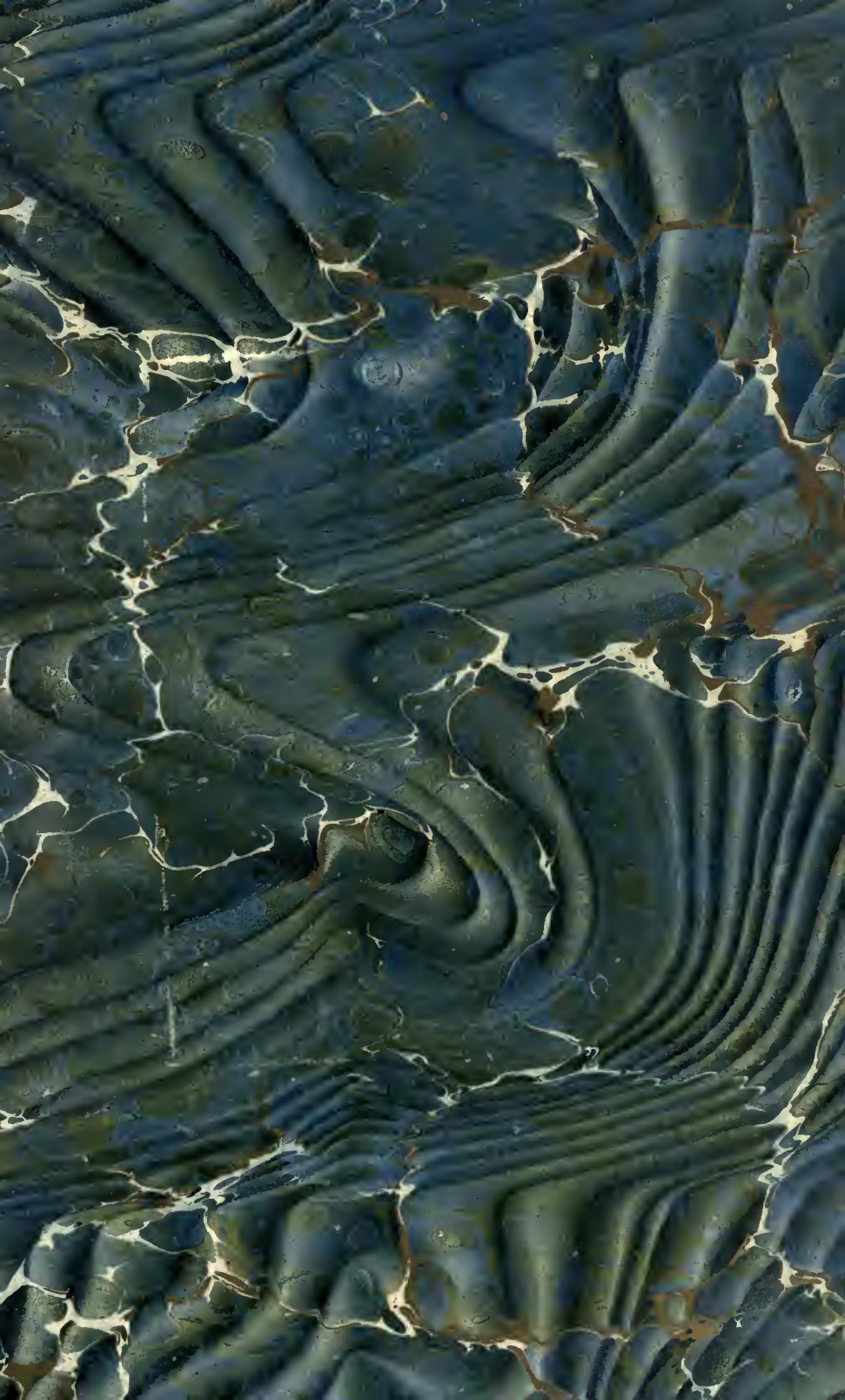






THE LIBRARY
OF
THE UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES





63



PAPERS ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION
IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1885-1895.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

PAPERS
ON THE
POLITICAL SITUATION
IN
SOUTH AFRICA
1885-1895

BY
CHARLES LEONARD

*WITH PAPERS BY
ADVOCATE WESSELS & ADVOCATE AURET*

LONDON
ARTHUR L. HUMPHREYS, 187 PICCADILLY, W
1903

PRINTED BY STRANGEWAYS AND SONS,
TOWER STREET, CAMBRIDGE CIRCUS, LONDON, W.C.

PREFACE.

A FEW words will explain what has led to the publishing of these pages. The papers which go to make up this book, written at different times, are just of the class that disappears entirely unless some care is taken to preserve them. As a proof of this, I may state that I had looked upon the pamphlet entitled 'England in South Africa' as quite lost, until I discovered accidentally that a lady in Scotland, Mrs. Taylor, had preserved a copy, which she was kind enough to lend me. That pamphlet, written from the standpoint of the loyal Cape Colonists, is, in my opinion, worth preserving, as it shows that so far back as 1885, Dutch National aspirations had taken such definite form as to lead to the formation of an English political association—the Empire League—for the maintenance of the English tie. The other papers, too, will, I venture to think, be of use to the student of the future. Of my own work I shall say nothing, except that, being collected, it may, as the evidence of a witness, possibly be of some use to the historian who, weighing testimony from all sides, shall seek to arrive at the truth.

Even the newspaper reports of meetings of the Transvaal National Union, containing as they do, though in crude

PREFACE.

form, records of the resolutions passed by that body of Uitlanders and of the speeches of its leaders, must reveal to future writers much that is important and relevant. The terms of the great Petition which was signed by 38,500 people and contemptuously disregarded by the Volksraad, will for ever give the lie to the statement, on the Boer side, that the Uitlanders formulated their 'demands' in such insolent terms as to preclude all possibility of their being granted. The extracts from the address of the Republican Chief Justice, the solemn warnings in the paper written by Mr. J. W. Wessels (now a judge on the Transvaal Bench), and the able analysis of the Republican Constitution by Advocate Auret, printed originally as appendices to my statement for the House of Commons Committee, should be of great value to students of South African history.

To make these papers accessible, I am causing them to be reprinted, at my own expense, so that they may be placed on the shelves of every library in South Africa and of some libraries in Great Britain.

CHAS. LEONARD.

November, 1902.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
ENGLAND IN SOUTH AFRICA, BY CHARLES LEONARD, ISSUED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE EMPIRE LEAGUE, 1885	1
THE MANIFESTO OF 1895	21
THE CASE FOR THE UITLANDERS	39
THE POSITION OF THE UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL, WITH HISTORY OF THE FRANCHISE. A STATEMENT PREPARED FOR THE COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS BY MR. CHARLES LEONARD	63
THE NETHERLANDS SOUTH AFRICAN COMPANY'S RAILWAY IN THE TRANSVAAL	130
DYNAMITE	138
ANNEXURE I.—MEMORANDUM <i>re</i> UNDERMINING RIGHTS UNDER VARIOUS RESERVED PLACES, AS BEWAARPLAATSEN (DE- POSITING SITES), WATER RIGHTS AND STANDS	145
ANNEXURE II.—TRANSLATION	151
APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT OF MR. CHARLES LEONARD :—	
EXTRACT FROM THE 'STANDARD AND DIGGERS' NEWS, AUGUST 22ND, 1892	157
EXTRACTS FROM LEADING ARTICLES IN THE 'STANDARD AND DIGGERS' NEWS'	190
EXTRACT FROM THE 'STANDARD AND DIGGERS' NEWS,' SEPTEMBER 12TH, 1892	194
REPORT FROM THE 'STANDARD AND DIGGERS' NEWS,' MAY 29TH, 1893	223
REPORT FROM 'STAR,' JOHANNESBURG, JULY 21ST, 1894 ...	254

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT OF MR. CHARLES LEONARD (<i>continued</i>):—	
LEADING ARTICLE IN 'LAND EN VOLK' (A DUTCH NEWSPAPER), DECEMBER 21ST, 1893	289
OUR CONSTITUTION EXPLAINED BY ADVOCATE AURET ...	293
PETITION TO SIR HENRY LOCH	315
ADDRESS GIVEN BY MR. ADVOCATE WESSELS, OF PRETORIA, BEFORE THE UITLANDERS' ASSOCIATION, OCTOBER 13TH, 1894	317
EXTRACT FROM AN ADDRESS GIVEN BY THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC AT RUSTENBURG, IN THE TRANSVAAL, IN OCTOBER, 1894	345
COPY OF THE PETITION FOR THE FRANCHISE WHICH WAS SIGNED BY 38,500 PEOPLE IN 1895, PRESENTED TO THE VOLKSRAAD, AND REJECTED	353
TRANSLATION OF LEADING ARTICLE FROM 'LAND EN VOLK,' DECEMBER 5TH, 1895—WOLMARANS' WATCH	355
TRANSVAAL REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE. STATEMENT SHOW- ING THE REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1895 COMPARED WITH THE YEAR 1894	358
MR. LEONARD'S EVIDENCE BEFORE THE SELECT COM- MITTEE ON BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA, 1897	363
PAPER HANDED IN BY MR. CHARLES LEONARD, MAY 18TH, 1897—MANIFESTO	421
SELECT COMMITTEE'S REPORT	427

ENGLAND IN SOUTH AFRICA.

BY
CHARLES LEONARD.

ISSUED BY THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE EMPIRE LEAGUE.

PUBLISHED BY
VAN DE SANDT DE VILLIERS & Co.
CAPETOWN.

1885.

ENGLAND IN SOUTH AFRICA.

WE have not prospered in this Colony during the last few years, and we are not prospering now. Perhaps it is as well that we should have an opportunity of finding out whether we are not ourselves to blame for this temporary check in our prosperity. Out of affliction cometh blessing, and if one result of the trouble which is upon us now should be that we Cape Colonists shall cease to call each other hard names, shall understand each other better, and, ignoring all supposed grounds of disunion, shall determine to be one people, then indeed will our affliction have been blessed. Let us look openly and honestly at the conditions under which we live, and ask ourselves whether there is any substantial reason why any one section of Colonists should regard with suspicion any other section; and, in discussing with each other, let reason, not passion or sentiment, govern us. So shall we learn that Heaven has cast us together in this land not to examine each other's pedigrees, not to discuss whether we are descended from English, Dutch, French, or German ancestors, but to live in brotherhood, to learn from one another, and to be rivals only in promoting the welfare of the country. We say let us ask ourselves whether there is any reason for us to distrust one another.

Now, truth requires that it should be said that there has been a breach formed between the two leading races of South Africa which did not exist ten years ago, and that certain forces are at work tending to widen that breach. The Transvaal war seems to have raised a feeling which did not previously exist (at

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

all events as anything worthy of notice)—a feeling of antagonism between English and Dutch. The brave conduct of the Transvaal burghers not unnaturally awakened a feeling of pride and enthusiasm in the breast of persons of the same blood in this Colony; it aroused the attention of the world; it stirred in the minds of Dutchmen, both in Holland and in South Africa, a dream of a future Dutch Empire which should renew the glories which have passed away from the Netherlands. But all this enthusiasm has worked away from the country incalculable evil, because it has set on foot intriguing between men in the neighbouring republics and this Colony. It has given designing men an opportunity of gaining their own ends by means of class distinctions, and has produced, or at least nourished the growth of, an association which, though its ostensible object is to educate the people to appreciate their political power and privileges, has indirectly had the effect of widening the breach between Colonists who should live side by side in mutual respect and friendship, helping, encouraging, and supporting each other. A house divided against itself cannot stand. A state torn by internal dissensions cannot prosper.

Things have come to such a pass that a serious question has arisen as to whether we are loyal to Her Majesty the Queen, and now it behoves all men who wish to range themselves under the banner of law, order, and peace, to ask themselves soberly whether agitation shall not cease. It has been doubted whether we are loyal. We say emphatically that if the great bulk of the Colonists were asked whether they wish to live under any other flag than the British flag they would unhesitatingly say no, and because we believe this to be the case, we ask them one and all, so to act and speak now that the few men whose object is to upset the existing order of things may be assured unmistakably that the people of this country do not want discord and bloodshed, and will not even contemplate a condition of things in which every man's hand will be against his neighbour.

It will be asked by some, Who are these men? We answer that they are the men who have systematically set about poisoning the minds of persons, previously distinguished only for their kind-

ENGLAND IN SOUTH AFRICA.

liness and good-neighbourship, against Englishmen and everything English ; who have week after week in the press held up Englishmen to scorn and ridicule, applying to them the foulest epithets, who have composed and published verses the sole object of which was to make the detested 'rooinek' stink in the nostrils of the Dutch-speaking people of this country ; and who lose no opportunity of misrepresenting the actions of England to men who have not the means of forming judgments for themselves. Many people who have not thought clearly what the phrase means, talk about a 'United South Africa under her own flag,' and when asked what flag they mean, say, 'Oh, the British flag.' Their dream is idle, but perhaps honest. The several states in this country are not now, and may not for a long time be, anxious to unite, and to talk about forcing a union is the surest way of producing irritation and distrust instead of confidence between us. If an Englishmen were to propose such a union under the British flag, the cry would immediately be raised that an attempt was being made to deprive the Free State and Transvaal of their independence, and a feeling of hostility on the part of those states, as well as many sympathisers in this Colony, would at once be raised, which could not but hinder our progress. Do we ever hear of such a thing from Englishmen? Never. And the conduct of England in giving the Transvaal back her independence, even while smarting under disaster, proves most conclusively that she has no desire to force her flag on an unwilling people.

Now, if we respect the flags which wave over our neighbours, we expect that the flag which waves over us shall also be respected. We have indicated that to impose our flag on the neighbouring republics could only lead to bloodshed, and it must be plain that to want to hoist another flag over us in this Colony could only end in the same thing, for we are not going to change the glorious flag of liberty under which we live for any other in the world. The men who talk about united South Africa must face bloodshed in any case, and we all know what bitter feelings are left after war, especially civil war. It would take generations to live down the feelings of anger, suspicion, and hatred which would arise, and

in the meantime we should suffer grievously from the pervading discord. We ask you, therefore, is such a union possible now? and if you are satisfied it is not, then we ask whether any one can love his country who, knowing what the results must be, yet persists in trying to bring them about. But who are they who talk about this scheme? Are they Englishmen? No. They are men of other nationalities, many of whom are men who have proposed to themselves the abolition of the English flag, but who do not see whither their dream of a 'United South Africa' would lead them. There are a few agitators, however, *who do foresee the result*, but who, nevertheless, are most zealous in keeping up this aspiration for a united South Africa under her own flag, and we say deliberately that these men cannot make us believe that they want the British flag. They talk about forming a 'Nationality' which shall be ready to hand when the Union comes, and as they point the finger of scorn at everything English, instead of trying to unite all classes in the country, it is clear that they do not contemplate that the British flag shall wave over their so-called Union.

Now, if this kind of agitation is persisted in, it must lead, not to union, but to civil war and political dissolution, destruction of property, ruin, and discord, from which it will take generations to recover. And we ask our fellow-Colonists to think carefully whether we are not right. We do not think that all the objects of the Afrikander Bond are evil, or that every man who belongs to it is an opponent of England. On the contrary, we wish it to be distinctly understood that, in so far as the Bond has awakened the people of this country to take an active interest in the legitimate concerns of the Colony, it has done good. We condemn it only for having branches in the neighbouring republics, and in so far as it has given utterance to, or fostered, the growth of anti-English feelings. We condemn Bondsmen also for allowing themselves to be dictated to by one or two. But we believe that the great bulk of Bondsmen are not disloyal to the British flag. We are not all members of the same natural family, though fate has formed us into one people. English, Dutch, French, and

Germans, to say nothing of other European nationalities and the Native races, are highly represented in the population of this Colony. We are living at peace under the British flag; free in every sense of the term.

Can any one be mad enough to suppose that any attempt to substitute for the flag under which we live any other flag would not be resisted by the great proportion of us to the bitter death? Where, then, would be the union? We do not think that things would ever come to such a pass, seeing the loyalty of the great bulk of the Colonists; but still, some men have spoken of these things, and is it not our duty, one and all, to say to them: 'We know you and your works; your tools are discord and ruin, and your aim is to rise to the top on the waves of dissensions you seek to raise?' Why should we be kept in a state of unrest? Why should men's minds be needlessly disturbed by the dreams of a few agitators? 'A little leaven leaveneth the lump,' and the views of these sedition-mongers are being spread so artfully that many men may absorb the poison unconsciously, and become aware of it only after the taint has entered into their very life-blood. We ask them, therefore, not to be beguiled by idle talk or clap-trap appeals to 'nationality' into risking the solid, substantial benefits they now enjoy, and into throwing away the substance for the shadow. These men are always running down everything British in such sweeping terms that we propose to examine our social and political systems, to see what evils we have to complain of, and to ask whether, if such a thing were possible, we could hope to better ourselves by uniting with the Free State and Transvaal, pulling down the British flag, and hoisting a republican flag of their own. Do not start. *This is what they want*, and there can be no harm in plainly facing the issue, and asking ourselves, if only as a problem which will never require practical solution, whether with such a change as contemplated we should have any greater liberty than we enjoy now, whether we should have more freedom in conducting public worship, whether we should have greater safeguards against arbitrary imprisonment or invasion of our properties, whether we should

have more control over taxes and the expenditure of public money, whether we should be able to express our opinions more freely either through the press or otherwise, whether our lands and possessions would be more valuable than they are now, whether our public credit would be so good as it is; whether, in fact, we should be, in any respect, better off than we are now.

We know that there is a large number of Colonists who, through no fault of their own, but from defective education, and the peculiar circumstances under which they live, have not favourable opportunities of forming independent judgments on matters of this kind, and we propose shortly to examine the question, if our readers will follow us.

There are two points which we wish to make clear, viz.—(1) That the establishment of the English Government here was beneficial to all classes; and (2) that the withdrawal of that Government would be disastrous to every one having vested interests in this Colony. It may be thought that it is unnecessary even to assert the first proposition, and for the great bulk of the people it is; but still, there are mischievous agitators who have persistently endeavoured to instil into the minds of our rural population the idea that England has exercised a pernicious influence here, that no good has come to the ‘ware Afrikaners’ from her presence, and that they would have been a good deal better off if the English had never set foot in this Colony. And it may be fairly assumed, from the expressions which frequently fall from the lips of speakers at public meetings in the country, that some have absorbed, and still retain, the idea that it would have been a happy thing for this country if England had not acquired it.

In order to establish our first proposition, therefore, we propose to sketch rapidly the condition of the people under the Dutch Government. It must be understood distinctly that we do not contend that such misrule as existed at that time could have been continued to the present day, nor that anything like such misrule would follow the withdrawal of the English Government. We simply state facts to show that the English acquisition of this

ENGLAND IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Colony was beneficial to all classes. Formerly the Government of this Colony was in the hands of the Dutch East India Company, whose sole object was to amass wealth for persons who lived in Holland; and the Governors were simply their servants, or commercial agents with enormous powers, which they were directed to use to the sole end of enriching their masters speedily. The Company regarded the Colony as intended for the benefit of themselves, not of the people here, and instructed their Governor to rule by the doctrine that 'the Colonies should not be freely cultivated, or industry be freely exercised therein, lest the Colonist should become opulent, powerful, and free.' One of these Governors, Van der Stell, cherished the maxim 'that a ruined people is easiest ruled.'

From the earliest period the so-called 'free burghers' were prohibited from purchasing from and selling to any one but the Company, which also fixed its own prices for everything bought or sold. The burghers had to deliver one-tenth of all their produce absolutely to the Company. They had no voice in the making of laws, were subject to the arbitrary will of the Governor, and could be banished from the country, put to death, or otherwise punished, after a trial in which he was practically the only judge. There were none of the safeguards for the liberty of the subject which we hold so dear. Merely to sign a petition for the redress of a grievance was a crime which was punished by summary banishment from the country. Men were not even free to dress themselves or their wives as they liked. The French refugees and their descendants were not allowed to conduct public worship in their own language. Judge Watermeyer, a worthy son of the soil, says of the Colony in its early days: 'Despotism had taken deep root. The foundations of tyranny were firm. The term "Colonial Freeman" had lost all signification of the liberty which Freemen in Europe enjoyed. The heads of the Government and the original burghers knew that freedom here was a mockery, that burghership was a state of subserviency to the Company. . . . Dependent on the Government, if in all things obedient, they might prosper in their private

circumstances. But to assert any political right, or to murmur against any exactions, entailed confiscation of their all, separation from their families, exile to the Mauritius or some other penal station.' What a picture of degradation this is! During the whole of the period of the Dutch rule here the system remained the same, and the tyranny and exactions of the Government became so unendurable that numbers of burghers moved away from the settlements, and, with little save their rifles and their Bibles, carved out for themselves homes in the wilderness, where they could laugh at the edicts and proclamations of partially irresponsible Governors, and the oppression of subordinate tyrants. And it is to this oppression and want of sympathy between Governors and Government that is to be attributed the backwardness of the Colony in many respects, and the want of culture for which some are perhaps too ready to despise some of our Colonists in the remoter parts of the country.

Nor can it be wondered at that the burghers were in a state of open rebellion against the Dutch Government when the English came here. Hear again what Judge Watermeyer says of the Company: '. . . Their principles were false, and the seeds of corruption were early sown on their Colonial administration. For the last fifty years, at least, of their rule here, there is little to which the examiner of our records can point with satisfaction. The effects of this pseudo-colonisation were, that the Dutch, a commercial nation, destroyed commerce. The most industrious race of Europe, they repressed industry. One of the freest States in the world, they encouraged a despotic misrule, in which falsely called free citizens were enslaved. These men in their turn became tyrants. Utter anarchy was the result. Some national feeling may have lingered, but substantially every man in the country, of every hue, was benefited when the incubus of the tyranny of the Dutch East India Company was removed.' Our readers of the present day may open their eyes and say, 'Is it possible our forefathers were so degraded?' We answer that it is the sad and sober truth, from which we may learn the practical lesson of contentment with our present political and sober rights;

ENGLAND IN SOUTH AFRICA.

and while thanking the Fates that we did not live a hundred years ago, reflect before we allow ourselves to be misled into endangering the privileges we enjoy.

It is clear, therefore, that whatever property was attained by the Colonists under the Dutch Government was secured in spite, and not by the aid, of the Government. There were no roads or bridges, no post-offices, no magistrates in many districts, no provision for education, and scarcely any ministers of religion.

Before passing from this period, it may be interesting to state what the population and the wealth of the Colony were at the end of the last century. According to the *opgaaf* lists, there were in the Colony (exclusive of British):—

Christians	...	...	...	...	21,746
Slaves	...	...	...	...	26,754
Hottentots	...	...	...	...	14,447
Grand total					61,947

There were 47,436 horses, 251,206 cattle, and 1,448,536 sheep; there were 1832 ‘loan’ farms in the Colony, and only 107 ‘gratuity’ lands. The income of the year 1800 was £73,919. Things had to be righted and, of course, we have not arrived at our present position by one stride. There can be no question that fifty years ago Colonists did not enjoy the same privileges as we enjoy. There have been many misunderstandings and much heartburning, though, on the whole, England’s policy has been dictated by a sense of justice, and she has ever been willing to redress grievances. But we have not space in this paper to trace the several stages of our growth, and must confine ourselves to a short review of our condition in 1884, which will enable our readers to compare things past with things present.

The population of the Colony at the	
last census in 1875 was	720,984
Of these there were European or white	236,783
And coloured	484,201

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Of the whites, 150,000 were of Dutch or French descent, and professed the Lutheran or Dutch Reformed creeds.

When we consider that the neighbouring states were mainly peopled from this Colony, it must be admitted that the increase is very large. And bearing in mind that the great bulk of the land in this Colony is owned by Dutch-speaking people, we can scarcely have stronger proof of the benign influence of the English Government in this country.

In 1875 the following were the numbers of the classes of stock mentioned:—

Horses	...	...	...	...	205,985
Cattle	...	...	...	...	1,111,713
Woolled sheep	...	...	...	...	9,986,240
Angora goats	...	...	...	...	877,988

And the increase in the production of grain, wine, and other products has been very large.

In 1883 we spent on police and gaols alone £279,649, or about four times as much as the revenue in 1800.

Our revenue for 1883 was £3,299,017, about forty-seven times as much as it was in 1800. We spent last year on education £93,999, or more than the whole revenue in 1800, and besides a University, have schools in every town and village and in many parts of the outlying districts. Facilities are offered by the grant of public money for the establishment of schools in the more sparsely populated parts of the country districts. Knowledge is spreading rapidly, and men whose fathers and grandfathers had scarcely any means of acquiring knowledge, have made themselves famous as clergymen, lawyers, doctors, or have by their knowledge and enterprise carved out for themselves fortunes in commercial or farming life. Look at men in every walk in life, and we find that sons of the soil are taking foremost places.

Do Englishmen, necessarily, occupy offices of power and distinction? The Chief Justice, a man of whom any country might be proud, is Colonial-born, and so are four other Judges of the Supreme Court. One of our Ministers is a born Dutchman,

ENGLAND IN SOUTH AFRICA.

and it is well known that Mr. Hofmeyr was asked, but refused, to be Premier. Nearly all the men at the Bar are born Colonists. Dozens of young Colonists are finding their way into commercial and professional life, and hundreds are returning to the farms where they were born, with their faculties developed by education.

Splendid churches of every denomination have been erected throughout the land, and men can worship God in any tongue and any form they choose. We have a large number of newspapers printed in this Colony, and so free is this press that many people begin to fear that in some instances liberty is running into licence. Of these papers some are published in English, some in Dutch, one in German, and some in Kaffir. We have good roads and bridges all over the Colony; mountains which were impossible barriers can now be crossed easily and safely. We have over 1400 miles of railways, giving hundreds of farmers and others easy access to markets and stimulating production. The country is one network of telegraph communications with Europe; we have splendid docks and a large shipping trade, magnificent steamers running weekly, and making voyages which formerly took three months in three weeks.

Life and property are safe, and the strong arm of the law is felt where fifty years ago men contended with the lion and the wolf for mastery. The value of land has increased enormously, and titles are secured by a system of registration which is unsurpassed, and which is envied by many older countries. We have three Superior Courts, with properly qualified judges, who are placed above the influence of Government, and on whose independence and integrity implicit reliance can be placed. We have Circuit Courts presided over by these judges, sitting twice a year in almost every town and village in the country. We have Magistrates' Courts in every division, with police to prevent and detect crimes. Justice is, in fact, brought to every man's door. By a recent Act, Dutch may be spoken in the Magistrates' Courts. No man can be convicted of any serious charge except by a jury of his own countrymen. If aggrieved by the decisions of lower

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Courts, we have the right of appeal to higher Courts. Payment of revenue is facilitated by the appointment of Civil Commissioners in each division. In every district we have a Divisional Council, elected by the people, and this Council controls the expenditure on divisional roads and similar matters. We have our municipalities for the regulation and good government of our towns and villages, the Municipal Commissioners being chosen by the inhabitants. In fact, we have local self-government in a very large measure; that is to say, every one of us, the people, has a voice, if we choose to use it, in the regulation and management of our own affairs, and if we do not exercise our privileges properly, we have no one to blame but ourselves.

We have now touched upon the right to make our own local rules and regulations. There are, however, laws which must be obeyed by the inhabitants of the Colony at large, whether they live in one district or another. How are these made? Are they passed by some despotic Government, without reference to the wishes of the people? Are laws made for one class of people and not for another? Can we complain that we have no means of making our views or grievances known? Let us see. We have a Parliament chosen entirely by the people. Practically every man has the right to be registered as a voter, and to choose who shall represent him in making laws or discussing matters of importance to the people. No laws can be made except by that Parliament; no taxes can be imposed, nor can money be spent unless the people, through their representatives in Parliament, have consented thereto. Every one has the right to petition freely against the imposition of any tax, of the introduction of any law which he may be opposed to. Our Acts of Parliament are printed and published, and before they become law are freely discussed in newspapers, at public meetings, and in private gatherings and byeways. The light of public opinion is thrown upon every act of those in authority; and if their policy be opposed to the will of the majority they have to make room for others who will more faithfully represent that majority. The councils of the nation are held with open doors, and everything

ENGLAND IN SOUTH AFRICA.

that transpires which is worth knowing is reported in the public papers; and thus we, the people, can at once take steps, if necessary, to make our wishes known with regard to proposed legislation. No race distinction will prevent a loyal Colonist from election to Parliament; and to show the liberal nature of our institutions, the debates and proceedings in the House can be carried on in either English or Dutch. What more can we want? Could we have greater security or greater freedom if we lived under a republican flag? We have the reins in our own hands now, and are driving the State coach—let us hope without danger of upsetting it. Can we do better than we are doing now? We have seen that recent elections have brought into Parliament large numbers of Dutch-speaking Colonists. Does any one say they have no right to be there? On the contrary, their election is only the legitimate result of the free institutions we enjoy, and a sign that the Dutch-speaking section of the community is now learning to appreciate the privileges and understand the meaning of government by the people. They are in their rightful place; and, although many of them may be new to legislative duties and general questions of statesmanship, we do not fear for the result. A process of education may be necessary, but the system is right, and we have faith in the people and their ability to govern themselves. Mistakes may be made; but have not all people made mistakes, and have not all had to gain wisdom by experience? Why should we hope to escape the common lot? As education spreads, and we all grow wiser and more thoughtful, fellow-Colonists of every nationality will learn to work for the common good, and it will be found that the election to Parliament of Dutch-speaking Members side by side with Englishmen and others will be the truest means of dispelling suspicion, distrust, or race antagonism. Sitting together in council by their representatives, the people will find that Dutchmen have no separate interests from Englishmen, and prejudices will vanish into thin air. Far from wishing to keep the Dutch Colonists inactive, our advice to them is to take an intelligent interest in

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

political matters, to think independently, and not allow themselves or their representatives to be led by the nose by wire-pullers. We feel sure they have too much sense to fly from the good they have to ills they know not of.

We have now touched upon the main points connected with our social and political welfare, and, though there is nothing original in our remarks, we trust they will not have been useless.

Compare the condition of men who can only be convicted by a jury with the condition of those who could be deported to penal settlements at a caprice of a Governor.

Compare the absolute freedom of commerce we enjoy with the restrictions which prevented the sale of produce to any but the Government.

Think of the difference between every man having a voice in making laws and fixing taxes and the Governor having the right to make laws as he liked.

Consider the freedom of the press and the right to speak freely.

Look at the mighty strides we have made under the British Government, and see whether our neighbours have progressed in the same way.

There can be no doubt that, if English rule ceased here, the weakness of the Colony and the certainty of its absorption will cause thousands and hundreds of thousands of pounds to be withdrawn which are at present invested here for the benefit of everybody. Mercantile credit will be stopped, and as pressure came to bear on the large firms here they in turn would be compelled to press the up-country shopkeepers supported by them. The first crash would be only the signal for ruin, utter ruin. Farmers would have no market for their produce, men of all classes would be thrown out of employment, and people who are now able to hold their heads up in honest pride would become paupers. What, for instance, would be the result, to farmers especially, of a general calling up of bonds? The Supreme Court would be busy for a time, hundreds of farms would be brought to the hammer: the farmers not having the money, and

ENGLAND IN SOUTH AFRICA.

not being able to find any one to lend them any. There would be no purchasers, and landed property would fall so in price that thousands would be ruined.

If any illustration is wanted of the evils which would follow, we have but to look at the Transvaal. After the war business men simply evacuated the country, banks were closed, and business came to a standstill. It is true the goldfields have caused some business, but there is stagnation everywhere, and farmers who fought against England are now longing for English money. No public works have been undertaken, and public credit is so low that no one in Europe would lend the State £100,000. How pregnant with meaning this is when we consider that there are many private firms in this Colony that have a larger credit.

The same results would follow in this Colony: and inasmuch as we have made greater progress, and have more to lose, the consequences would be more serious to us. Among other things, there would be a complete revolution in our Government and its departments, and all the machinery of the law would be put out of gear.

Can a young Colony which has no manufactures, and does not even produce wheat, butter, grain, &c., for its own consumption, which is compelled to go to England for loans to prosecute public works, and which has not the men or money to keep up the force which would be necessary to protect it from invasion, hope to stand alone as a free, independent, and powerful republic? No, we answer emphatically, no.

Some readers may ask whether there would be any danger of this country being sought after and conquered by other large Powers. We can only ask them to consider the events which have taken place recently. The Germans are increasing faster than any other European people, and are being forced to find outlets for their redundant population. In the past thousands of her sons have settled in British Colonies, where they have large sums at stake now. A strong feeling is growing in Germany that her sons should not, on emigrating, lose their nationality;

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

and the only way to prevent this is to acquire colonies, whither they could emigrate and form German communities; and there is beyond doubt a powerful colonising movement going on throughout the length and breadth of the Vaterland. That movement has resulted in the annexation of Angra Pequena, in our immediate neighbourhood; and it is alleged that the Germans are seeking a footing on the East Coast in the direction of Delagoa Bay. Are not these things significant? We think that Germany would respect the rights of the English in this Colony; but we feel sure that the withdrawal of the English Government would remove all restraint, and that she would hoist her flag here before any other Power had a chance of obtaining a footing. The Cape Colony is different from the inland republics, being, in fact, one of the most important of the outlying positions of the world, and it would never be left unoccupied by one or other of the great European Powers. We go further, indeed, and say that if England withdraws, Germany would be justified, almost bound, to extend the protection of her strong arm over the large numbers of her subjects who have settled and have great invested interests here, which interests would be brought into jeopardy if the Colony were left to itself; and we are sure this and other reasons would be discovered by Germany for immediate protection.

Under the German system every man must serve as a soldier for a certain period, and we do not think such compulsory military service would be relished by the Cape Colonists.

Compare the liberality of the Government which allows Dutch to be spoken in Parliament and in Court, instead of stamping out the language of the Dutch, as the Dutch formerly stamped out the language of the French, or as the Germans are now stamping out the language of the Danes in Schleswig-Holstein.

Think of the credit we enjoy, and the value which is imparted to all our possessions by the mere fact that we are protected by the flag of England, and then let us ask ourselves whether, assuming we would be able, under a republic of our own, to secure all other privileges, it would not be folly, by parting company with England, to lower the value of everything, to

ENGLAND IN SOUTH AFRICA.

cause money to be withdrawn from the country, to create such distrust of our securities as would prevent our getting loans in Europe, and to paralyse trade? We would be too weak to resist foreign invasion, and, even if it never came, the possibility of it would deter capitalists from investing money here. Let the refusal of capitalists in Europe to lend the Transvaal money teach us a lesson.

Indeed, we know our Dutch friends too well to think that they would prefer German domination, with enforced military service, to English rule. Even if they are not all fired by that ardent attachment to England which perhaps can only be expected to animate men of English descent, they know their own interests. We again say we think the vast majority of Colonists do not wish for change of flag, and we call upon them to discourage the aspirations of the minority after things which can never come about. England never will, never can, give up this Colony, and we Colonists never can give up England. This being the case, let us forget race distinctions which are by intermarriage fast fading away, and which community of interests should force into oblivion. Some Englishmen have spoken slightly of Dutch people, and this has caused soreness. Some Dutchmen profess contempt and distrust of Englishmen. There is no cause for these things becoming general. There are good and bad among all peoples, and good faith and feeling should command our respect by whomsoever they are shown. But if a Dutchman or an Englishman finds dishonour or discourtesy shown in occasional instances, do not let him put down the whole race of Englishmen or Dutchmen as dishonourable or discourteous. Patient and good-tempered examination of facts will dispel a good many of our fancies. The whole burden of our tale is that we do not believe our condition is to be bettered by political nostrums. What we want is rest, concord, and close attention to the callings by which we earn our livelihood. Talk about flags and nationalities will not bring the farmer more grain, wine, wool, ostrich feathers, the mines more diamonds, or the merchant more profit. We know well that if the farmer prospers, the merchants and

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

other classes flourish, just as we know that if the trading classes suffer, the farmer must be injured. The surest way to benefit the whole body politic is for each member of the commonwealth to spend all his energies in the work by which he lives, and to endeavour legitimately to promote his own interests by industry and enterprise.

Our sons and daughters are learning together at the same schools, worshipping together, playing cricket, football, and tennis together, intermarrying, and mixing with each other in every phase of Colonial life. Are not our very churches used to accommodate both Dutch and English congregations, who worship the same God in the same manner? This is the true way to be united, and it will be owing to influences such as these that we shall be able, when the time comes, as come it will, to say, Now we are indeed brothers. We can hasten or delay that true union. Will not Colonists prefer to hasten it?

Let us, the inhabitants of the Cape Colony, be swift to recognise that we are one people cast together under a glorious flag of liberty, with heads clear enough to appreciate the freedom we enjoy and hearts resolute to maintain our true privileges; let us desist from reproaching and insulting one another, and, rejoicing that we have this goodly land as a common heritage, remember that by united action only can we realise its grand possibilities. We belong—both of us—to a home-loving stock, and the peace and prosperity of every home in the land is at stake. On our action now depends the question whether we shall live in their memory as promoters of civil strife, with all its miserable consequences, or as joint architects of a happy, prosperous, and united State. Each of us looks back to a noble past. United, we may ensure to our descendants a not unworthy future. Disunited, we can hope for nothing but stagnation, misery, and ruin. Is this a light thing?

THE
MANIFESTO OF 1895.

THE MANIFESTO OF 1895.

IF I am deeply sensible of the honour conferred upon me by being elected Chairman of the National Union, I am profoundly impressed with the responsibilities attached to the position. The issues to be faced in this country are so momentous in character that it has been decided that, prior to the holding of a public meeting, a review of the condition of affairs should be placed in your hands, in order that you may consider matters quietly in your homes. It has also been decided that it will be wise to postpone the meeting which was to have taken place on the 27th December until the 6th day of January next.

On that day you will have made up your minds on the various points submitted to you, and we will ask you for direction as to our future course of action. It is almost unnecessary to recount all the steps which have been taken by the National Union, and I shall, therefore, confine myself to a very short review of what has been done.

THE THREE PLANKS.

The constitution of the National Union is very simple. The three objects which we set before ourselves are : (1) The maintenance of the independence of the Republic ; (2) the securing of equal rights ; and (3) the redress of grievances. This brief but comprehensive programme has never been lost sight of, and I think we may challenge contradiction fearlessly when we assert that we have constitutionally, respectfully, and steadily prosecuted our purpose. Last year, you will remember, a respectful petition, praying for the franchise, signed by 13,000 men, was received with contemptuous laughter and jeers in the Volksraad.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

This year the Union, apart from smaller matters, endeavoured to do three things.

THE RAAD ELECTION.

First, we were told that a progressive spirit was abroad, that twelve out of twenty-four members of the First Volksraad had to be elected, and we might reasonably hope for reform by the type of broad-minded men who would be elected. It was therefore resolved that we should do everything in our power to assist in the election of the best men who were put up by the constituencies, and everything that the law permitted us to do in this direction was done.

DISAPPOINTED HOPES.

The result has been only too disappointing, as the record of the debates and the division list in the Volksraad prove. We were, moreover, told that public speeches in Johannesburg prevented the progressive members from getting a majority of the Raad to listen to our requests, that angry passions were inflamed, and that if we would only hold our tongues reform would be brought about. We therefore resolved in all loyalty to abstain from inflaming angry passions, although we never admitted we had by act or speech given reason for legislators to refuse justice to all. Hence our silence for a long time.

THE RAILWAY CONCESSION NEXT.

We used all our influence to get the Volksraad to take over the railway concession; but, alas! the President declared, with tears in his voice, that the independence of the country was wrapped up in this question, and a submissive Raad swept the petitions from the table.

THE FRANCHISE PETITION.

Our great effort, however, was the petition for the franchise, with the moderate terms of which you are well acquainted. This petition was signed by more than 38,000 persons. What was the result? We were called unfaithful for not naturalising ourselves when naturalisation means only that we should give up

THE MANIFESTO OF 1895.

our original citizenship and get nothing in return, and become subject to disabilities. Members had the calm assurance to state, without any grounds whatever, that the signatures were forgeries; and, worst of all, one member in an inflammatory speech challenged us openly to fight for our rights, and his sentiment seemed to meet with considerable approval. This is the disappointing result of our honest endeavours to bring about a fusion between the people of this State, and the true union and equality which alone can be the basis of prosperity and peace. You all know that as the law stands now, we are virtually excluded for ever from getting the franchise, and by a malignant ingenuity our children born here are deprived of the rights of citizenship unless their fathers take an oath of allegiance, which brings them nothing but disabilities.

THE BITTER CRY OF THE UITLANDER.

We are the vast majority in this State. We own more than half the land, and, taken in the aggregate, we own at least nine-tenths of the property in this country; yet, in all matters affecting our lives, our liberties, and our properties, we have absolutely no voice. Dealing now first with the Legislature, we find taxation is imposed upon us without any representation whatever; that taxation is wholly inequitable, (*a*) because a much greater amount is levied from the people than is required for the needs of the Government; (*b*) because it is either class taxation pure and simple, or by the selection of the subjects, though nominally universal, it is made to fall upon our shoulders; and (*c*) because the necessities of life are unduly burdened.

ABUSE OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.

Expenditure is not controlled by any public official independent of the Government. Vast sums are squandered, while the Secret Service Fund is a dark mystery to every one. But, essential as the power to control taxation and expenditure is to a free people, there are other matters of the gravest importance which are equally precious. The Legislature in this country is the supreme power, apparently uncontrolled by any fixed Constitution.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The chance will of a majority in a Legislature elected by one-third of the people is capable of dominating us in every relation of life; and when we remember that those who hold power belong to a different race, speak a different language, and have different pursuits from ourselves, that they regard us with suspicion and even hostility, that, as a rule, they are not educated men, and that their passions are played upon by unscrupulous adventurers, it must be admitted that we are in very grave danger.

TRIBUTE TO THE MODERATES.

I think it is but just to bear tribute to the patriotic endeavours of a small band of enlightened men in the Volksraad, who have earnestly condemned the policy of the Government, and warned them of its danger. To Mr. Jeppe, Mr. Lucas Meyer, the De Jagers, Mr. Loveday, and a few others in the First Raad, leaving out the Second Raad, we owe our best thanks, for they have fought our battles and confirmed the justice of our cause. But when we look to the debates of the last few years, what do we find? All through a spirit of hostility, all through an endeavour not to meet the just wants of the people, not to remove grievances, not to establish the claim to our loyalty by just treatment and equal laws, but to repress the publication of the truth, however much it might be required in the public interest, to prevent us from holding public meetings, to interfere with the Courts, and to keep us in awe by force.

THE POWERS OF THE EXECUTIVE.

There is now threatened a danger even greater than those which have preceded it. The Government is seeking to get through the Legislature an Act which will vest in the Executive the power to decide whether men have been guilty of sedition, and to deport them and confiscate their goods. The Volksraad has by resolution affirmed this principle, and has instructed the Government to bring up a Bill accordingly next session. To-day this power rests justly with the Courts of Law; and I can only say that, if this Bill becomes law, the power of the Executive Govern-

THE MANIFESTO OF 1895.

ment of this country would be as absolute as the power of the Czar of Russia. We shall have said good-bye finally to the last principle of liberty.

PRESIDENT KRUGER INDICTED.

Coming to the Executive Government, we find that there is no true responsibility to the people, none of the great departments of State are controlled by Ministerial officers in the proper sense. The President's will is virtually supreme, and he, with his unique influence over the legislators of the House, State-aided by an able, if hostile, State Secretary, has been the author of every Act directed against the liberties of the people. It is well that this should be recognised. It is well that President Kruger should be known for what he is, and that once for all the false pedestal on which he has stood so long should be destroyed. I challenge contradiction when I state that no important Act has found a place on the statute-book during the last ten years without the seal of President Kruger's will upon it—nay, he is the father of every such Act. Remember that all legislation is initiated by the Government, and, moreover, President Kruger has expressly supported every Act by which we and our children have been deprived by progressive steps of the right to acquire the franchise, by which taxation has been imposed upon us almost exclusively, and by which the right and the liberty of the press and the right of public meetings have been attacked.

THE JUDGES AND THE LIBERTY OF THE SUBJECT.

Now we come to the judicial system. The High Court of this country has, in the absence of representation, been the sole guardian of our liberties. Although it has, on the whole, done its work ably, affairs are in a very unsatisfactory position. The Judges have been underpaid, their salaries have never been secure, the most undignified treatment has been meted out to them, and the status and independence of the Bench have on more than one occasion been attacked. A deliberate attempt was made two years ago by President Kruger and his Government

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

to reduce the Bench to a position subordinate to the Executive Council, and only recently we had in the Witfontein matter the last of the cases in which the Legislature interfered with vested rights of action. The administration of justice by minor officials, by native commissioners, and by field-cornets, has produced, and is producing, the gravest unrest in the country; and, lastly, gentlemen,

THE GREAT BULWARK OF LIBERTY,

the right to trial by jurymen who are our peers, is denied to us. Only the burgher, or naturalised burgher, is entitled to be a jurymen; or, in other words, any one of us is liable to be tried upon the gravest charge possible by jurymen who are in no sense our peers, who belong to a different race, who regard us with a greater or less degree of hostility, and whose passions, if inflamed might prompt them, as weak human creatures, to inflict the gravest injustice, even to deprive men of their lives. Supposing, in the present tense condition of political feeling, any one of us were tried before a Boer jury on any charge having a political flavour about it, should we be tried by our peers, and should we have a chance of receiving even-handed justice?

THE SECRET SERVICE FUND.

When we come to the administration, we find there is the grossest extravagance, that Secret Service moneys are squandered, that votes are exceeded, that the public credit is pledged, as it was pledged in the case of the Netherlands Railway Company, and later still in the case of the Selati railway, in a manner which is wholly inconsistent with the best interests of the people.

SQUANDERING THE PUBLIC REVENUE.

The Delagoa Bay festivities are an instance of a reckless disregard of a parliamentary vote; £20,000 was voted for these useless festivities; about £60,000 was really expended, and I believe certain favoured gentlemen hailing from Holland derived the principal benefit. It is said that £400,000 of our money has been transferred for some extraordinary purpose to Holland.

THE MANIFESTO OF 1895.

Recently, £17,000 is said to have been sent out of the country with Dr. Leyds for Secret Service purposes, and the public audit seems a farce. When the Progressive members endeavoured to get an explanation about large sums of money, they were silenced by a vote of the majority prompted by President Kruger. The administration of the public service is in a scandalous condition.

A CORRUPT LEGISLATURE.

Bribery and corruption are rampant. We have had members of the Raad accepting presents of imported spiders and watches wholesale from the men who were applying for concessions, and we have the singular fact that in every instance the recipient of the gift voted for the concession. We have the President openly stating that such acceptance of presents was wholly moral. We have a condition of affairs in which the time of the meeting of the Volksraad is looked upon as the period of the gravest danger to our interests, and it is an open secret that a class of man has sprung up who is in constant attendance upon the members of the Volksraad, and whose special business appears to be 'influencing' of members one way or the other. It is openly stated that enormous sums of money have been spent, some to produce illegitimate results, some to guard against fresh attacks upon vested rights. The Legislature passed an Act solemnly denouncing corruption in the public service. One man, not an official, was punished under the law, but nothing has ever been done since to eradicate the evil.

AND A TAINTED CIVIL SERVICE.

I think thousands of you are satisfied of the venality of many of our public servants. I wish to guard against the assumption that all public servants are corrupt. Thank God, there are many who are able and honourable men, and it must be gall and wormwood to these men to find the whole tone of the service destroyed, and to have themselves made liable to be included under one general denunciation. But there can be no health in an administration, and the public morals must be sapped also, when

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

such things as the Smit case and the recent Stiemans case go unnoticed and unpunished.

TWO GLARING CASES.

I think it right to state openly what those cases are. N. J. Smit is the son of a member of the Government. He absented himself for months without leave. He was meantime charged in the newspapers with embezzlement. He returned, was fined £25 for being absent without leave, and was reinstated in office. He is now the Mining Commissioner of Klerksdorp. He has been charged in at least two newspapers—one of them a Dutch newspaper, *Land en Volk*, published within a stone's throw of the Government office—with being an 'unpunished thief,' and yet the Government have taken no notice of it, nor has he thought fit to bring an action to clear himself. In the Stiemans case two officials in the Mining Department admitted in the witness-box that they had agreed to further the application of a relative for the grant of a piece of land at Johannesburg on condition that they were each to receive one-quarter of the proceeds. A third official, the Landdrost of Pretoria, admitted that he had received £300 for his 'influence' in furthering the application; yet no notice has been taken by the Government of their scandalous conduct, and sad to say judges who heard the case did not think it their duty to comment strongly upon the matter. I have in my possession now a notarial deed which proves that the Railway Commissioner, the Landdrost, and the Commandant at Pretoria, are members of a syndicate whose avowed object is, or was, to wrest from the companies their right to the *bewaarplaatsen*. This shows what is going on, and what is the measure of safety to title to property. Those who should guard our rights are our worst enemies. In a law introduced by the present Government, the Government, instead of the Courts, are the final judges in cases of disputed elections. No Election Committees are allowed. This operates against candidates opposed to the Government, because the Government has virtually a vast standing army of committeemen, henchmen, officials being allowed openly to take part in

THE MANIFESTO OF 1895.

swaying elections, and the Government being in a position, by the distribution of contracts, appointments, purchase of concessions, the expenditure of Secret Service money, and otherwise, to bring into existence and maintain a large number of supporters who act as canvassers always on the right side in times of elections.

NATIVE AFFAIRS.

The administration of native affairs is a gross scandal, and a source of immense loss and danger to the community. Native Commissioners have been permitted to practise extortion, injustice, and cruelty upon the natives under their jurisdiction. The Government have allowed petty tribes to be goaded into rebellion. We have had to pay the cost of the 'wars,' while the wretched victims of their policy have had their tribes broken up, sources of native labour have been destroyed, and large numbers of prisoners have been kept in gaol for something like eighteen months without trial. It was stated in the newspapers that, out of sixty-three men imprisoned, thirty-one had died in that period, while the rest were languishing to death for want of vegetable food. We have had revelations of repulsive cruelty on the part of the field-cornets. We all remember the Rachmann case, and the April case, in which the judges found field-cornets guilty of brutal conduct to unfortunate natives; but the worst features about these cases is that the Government has set the seal of its approval upon the acts of these officials by paying the costs of the actions out of public funds, and the President of the State a few days ago made the astounding statement in regard to the April case that, notwithstanding the judgment of the High Court, the Government thought that Prinsloo was right in his action, and therefore paid the costs. The Government is enforcing the *plakkerswet*, which forbids the locating of more than five families on one farm. The field-cornets in various districts have recently broken up homes of large numbers of natives settled on 'Uitlanders' lands, just at the time when they had sown their crops to provide the next winter's food. The application of this law is most uneven, as large numbers of natives are left on the farms of the Boers. Quite recently a

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

well-known citizen brought into the country, at great expense, some hundreds of families, provided them with land, helped them to start life, stipulating only that he should be able to draw from amongst them labour at a fair wage to develop his properties. Scarcely had they been settled when the field-cornet came down and scattered the people, distributing them among Boer farms. The sources of the native labour supply have been seriously interfered with at the borders by Government measures, and difficulties have been placed in the way of transport of natives by railway to the mines. These things are all a drain upon us as a State, and many of them are a burning disgrace to us as a people.

THE EDUCATION SCANDAL.

The great public that subscribes the bulk of the revenue is virtually denied all benefit of State aid in education. There has been a deliberate attempt to Hollanderise the Republic, and to kill the English language. Thousands of children are growing up in this land in ignorance, unfitted to run the race of life, and there is the possibility that a large number of them will develop into criminals. We have had to tax ourselves privately to guard against these dangers, and the iniquity of denying education to the children of men who are paying taxes is so manifest that I pass on with mingled feelings of anger and disgust.

RAILWAYS.

This important branch of the public service is entirely in the hands of a corporation domiciled in Holland. This corporation holds a concession—of course, under which not only was there no adequate control over expenditure in construction, but it is entitled to charge, and is charging us, outrageous tariffs. How outrageous these are will be seen from the admission made by Mr. Middleberg, that the short section of ten miles between Boksburg and Krugersdorp is paying more than the interest on the cost of the construction of the whole line of railway to Delagoa Bay. To add these to its general revenue, of which 10 per cent. is set aside as a sinking fund, and then to take for itself 15 per cent. of

THE MANIFESTO OF 1895.

the balance, the Company reports annually to the Raad from Amsterdam in a language which is practically foreign to it, and makes up its accounts in guelders, a coinage which our legislators, I venture to say, know nothing of—and this is independence! We are liable as guarantors for the whole of the debt. Lines have been built entirely on our credit, and yet we have no say and no control over these important public works beyond the show of control which is supposed to be exercised by the present Railway Commissioner. The Company, in conjunction with the Executive Government, is in a position to control our destinies to an enormous extent, to influence our relations internally and externally, to bring about such friction with the neighbouring States as to set the whole of South Africa in tumult. Petitions have been presented to the Raad, but the President has constantly brushed these aside with the well-worn argument that the independence of the State is involved in the matter. It is involved in the matter, as all who remember the recent Drifts question will admit. I have been told that it is dangerous for the country to take over the railway, because it would afford such an immense field for corruption. Surely this is the strongest condemnation of the Government by its friends, for, if it is not fit to run a railway, how can it be fit to manage a whole State? The powers controlling this railway are flooding the public service with Hollanders to the exclusion of our own people, and I may here say that in the most important departments of the State we are being controlled by the gentlemen from the Low Country. While the innocent Boer hugs to himself the delusion that he is preserving his independence, they control us politically through Dr. Leyds, financially through the Netherlands Railway, educationally through Dr. Mansvelt, and in the Department of Justice through Dr. Coster.

CUSTOM AND TRADE.

The policy of the Government in regard to taxation may be practically described as protection without production. The most monstrous hardships result to consumers, and merchants can scarcely say from day to day where they are. Twice now has the

Government entered into competition with traders who have paid their licenses and rents and who keep staffs. Recently grain became scarce. The Government were petitioned to suspend the duties, which are cruelly high, in order to assist the mining industry to feed its labourers. The Government refused this request on the plea that it was not in a position to suspend duties without the permission of the Volksraad, and yet within a few days we find that the Government has granted a concession to one of its friends to import grain free of duty, and to sell it in competition with the merchants who have to pay duties. I do not attempt to deal with this important question adequately, but give this example to show how the Government regards the rights of traders.

MONOPOLIES.

It has been the steady policy of the Government to grant concessions. No sooner does any commodity become absolutely essential to the community than some harpy endeavours to get a concession for its supply. There is scarcely a commodity or a right which has not been made the subject of an application for the grant of a concession. We all remember the bread and jam concession, the water concession, the electric lighting concession, and many others, but I need only point to the dynamite concession to show how these monopolies tend to paralyse our industries. There may be some of you who have not yet heard, and some who have forgotten, the facts connected with this outrage upon public rights.

STORY OF THE DYNAMITE CONCESSION.

Some years ago Mr. Lippert got a concession for the sole right to manufacture and sell dynamite and all other explosives. He was to manufacture the dynamite in this country. For years he imported dynamite under the name of Guhr Impregne duty free. He never manufactured dynamite in the country, and upon public exposure the Government was compelled to cancel the concession, the President himself denouncing the action of the concessionaire as fraudulent. For a time we breathed freely, thinking we were rid of this incubus, but within a few months the Government

THE MANIFESTO OF 1895.

granted virtually to the same people another concession, under which they are now taking from the pockets of the public £600,000 per annum, and this is a charge which will go on growing should the mining industry survive the persistent attempts to strangle it. How a body charged with the public interests could be parties to this scandalous fleecing of the public passes comprehension. Then the curious feature about the matter is that the Government gets some petty fraction of this vast sum, and the concessionaires have on this plea obtained enormous advances of public moneys from the Government without security to carry on their trade. Shortly, the concessionaires are entitled to charge 90s. per case for dynamite, while it could be bought if there were no concession for about 30s. per case. It may be stated incidentally that Mr. Wolmarans, a member of the Government, has been for years challenged to deny that he is enjoying a royalty of 2s. on every case of dynamite sold, and that he has up to the present moment neglected to take up the challenge. Proper municipal government is denied to us, and we all know how much this means in regard to health, comfort, and the value of property. The statute-books are disfigured with enactments imposing religious disabilities, and the English language—the language spoken by the great bulk of the people—is denied all official recognition. The natural result of the existing condition of things is that the true owners of the mines are those who have invested no capital in them—the Government, the railway concessionaires, the dynamite concessionaires, and others. The country is rich, and under proper government could be developed marvellously, but it cannot stand the drain of the present exactions. We have lived largely upon foreign capital, and the total amounts of the dividends available for shareholders in companies is ridiculously small as compared with the aggregate amount of capital invested in mining ventures. Some day the inevitable result upon our credit and upon trade will be forced upon us.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

HATRED OF THE SAXON.

There is no disguising the fact that the original policy of the Government is based upon intense hostility to the English-speaking population, and that even against the enfranchised burgher of this State there is the determination to retain all power in the hands of those who are enjoying the sweets of office now, and naturally the grateful crowd of relations and friends and henchmen ardently support the existing *régime*; but there are unmistakable signs, and the President fears that the policy which he has hitherto adopted will not be sufficient to keep in check the growing population. It seems the set purpose of the Government to repress the growth of the industry, to tax it at every turn, to prevent the working classes from settling here and making their homes and surrounding themselves with their families, and there is no mistaking the significance of the action of the President when he opposed the throwing open of the town lands of Pretoria on the ground that 'he might have a second Johannesburg there,' nor that of his speech upon the motion for the employment of diamond drills to prospect Government lands, which he opposed hotly, on the ground that 'there is too much gold here already.'

THE POLICY OF FORCE.

We have now openly the policy of force revealed to us. £250,000 is to be spent upon the completing of a fort at Pretoria, £100,000 is to be spent upon a fort to terrorise the inhabitants of Johannesburg, large orders are sent to Krupp's for big guns. Maxims have been ordered, and we are even told that German officers are coming out to drill the burghers. Are these things necessary, or are they calculated to irritate the feeling to breaking point? What necessity is there for forts in peaceful inland towns? Why should the Government endeavour to keep us in subjection to unjust laws by the power of the sword, instead of making themselves live in the heart of the people by a broad policy of justice? What can be said of a policy which deliberately divides the two great sections of the people from each other instead of uniting them under equal laws, or the policy

THE MANIFESTO OF 1895.

which keeps us in eternal turmoil with the neighbouring States? What shall be said of the statecraft, every act of which sows ferments, discontent, or race-hatred, and reveals a conception of republicanism under which the only privilege of the majority of the people is to provide the revenue, and to bear insult, while only those are considered Republicans who speak a certain language, and in greater or less degree share the prejudices of the ruling classes.

A STIRRING PERORATION.

I think this policy can never succeed, unless men are absolutely bereft of every quality which made their forefathers free men; unless we have fallen so low that we are prepared to forget honour, self-respect, and our duty to our children. Once more, I wish to state again in unmistakable language what has been so frequently stated in perfect sincerity before, that we desire an independent republic which shall be a true republic, in which every man who is prepared to take the oath of allegiance to the State shall have equal rights, in which our children shall be brought up side by side as united members of a strong Commonwealth; that we are animated by no race-hatred, that we desire to deprive no man, be his nationality what it may, of any right.

THE CHAMBER OF THE UNION.

We have only two questions to consider: (a) What do we want? (b) How shall we get it? I have stated plainly what our grievances are, and I shall answer with equal directness the question, 'What do we want?' We want: (1) the establishment of this Republic as a true Republic; (2) a Grondwet or Constitution which shall be framed by competent persons selected by representatives of the whole people and framed on lines laid down by them—a Constitution which shall be safeguarded against hasty alteration; (3) an equitable franchise law and fair representation; (4) equality of the Dutch and English languages; (5) responsibility to the Legislature of the heads of the great departments; (6) removal of religious disabilities; (7) independence of the Courts of Justice, with adequate and secured

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

remuneration of the judges; (8) liberal and comprehensive education; (9) efficient civil service, with adequate provision for pay and pension; (10) free trade in South African products. That is what we want. There now remains the question which is to be put before you at the meeting of January 6th, viz., How shall we get it? To this question I shall expect from you an answer in plain terms according to your deliberate judgment.

CHAS. LEONARD,
Chairman Transvaal National Union.

December 25th, 1895.

THE
CASE FOR THE UITLANDERS

BY
CHARLES LEONARD.

REPRINTED FROM 'THE NEW REVIEW,'
APRIL 1896.

THE CASE FOR THE UITLANDERS.

THE stirring events which have occurred in South Africa, and the fact that those events are indissolubly bound up with the liberties and sentiment of a very large number of British subjects, with the material interests of thousands of shareholders in Europe, and possibly—nay, probably—with much greater destinies, cause me to think that a short statement of facts may help towards the formation of a just public opinion and a solution of some of the existing difficulties. It may be well for me to state who I am. Born in South Africa, I settled in the South African Republic nearly eight years ago, and in 1892 I helped to form the political association called ‘The Transvaal National Union,’ of which I have been the Chairman for a considerable time. I was sent by my associates from Johannesburg to Cape Town a few days before the Jameson incident occurred, and was, therefore, prevented from taking any part in the events which happened at that time. I am precluded, in view of the impending trials in London and Pretoria, from discussing those events; but as one who, from the first, has been a leader in the struggle for liberty, I conceive it to be my duty to make public the broad facts connected with the struggle, as I find there is still a great deal of misconception prevailing in regard to the situation. The Jameson Raid is an incident which does not affect the rights or the wrongs of the Uitlanders, although it has to some extent become connected with them: I shall, therefore, consider the political situation as it existed before Jameson crossed the frontier, with a

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

view to determining who is responsible for the friction between the Government and the people.

I find that a good many people think that the Uitlanders have not much to complain of, and that the movement in Johannesburg was caused by a few unscrupulous financiers for purely selfish ends. If this view were permitted to prevail, not only would it affect the liberties of large numbers of Englishmen, Americans, and even Germans, who have striven for simple right, but it might influence the destinies of South Africa for all time; while it would certainly enable the enemies of England's children to triumph in the future still more than they have done in the past. The fact is that for years the struggle for the simple right to vote has been carried on by the general body of Uitlanders, and their bitterest cry was that the great capitalists 'sat on the rail' and refused to help them. Only in '95 did those capitalists join the movement. Yet it is now stated that they 'created a situation' for their own ends! As matter of fact, they threw in their lot in '95 because they were at last satisfied that their material interests were in the gravest danger, and that there was no hope of averting the further results of misgovernment unless combined action were taken. If the capitalists only took an active part in politics in '95, and if they then 'created the situation,' how comes it that in '92, at a meeting attended by thousands of enthusiastic and eager citizens, the 'National Union' was formed by a unanimous vote (the big capitalists not being present)? Its objects were:—(a) 'The maintenance of the independence of the Republic'; and (b) 'To obtain, by all constitutional means, equal rights for all citizens of this Republic and the redress of all grievances.' I had the honour to move the first resolution at the meeting of citizens referred to, in the following terms:—

'That regard being had to the great influx of population into this State, the magnitude of their interests, the fact that the greater portion of the public revenue is contributed by them, while they have no voice in the legislation of the country, that many grievances and abuses call for redress, and that there is reason to fear that exclusion

THE CASE FOR THE UITLANDERS.

from political rights may develop into a source of weakness and danger to the State, it is desirable to form a Union to obtain political rights and the redress of grievances.'

It was resolved :—

'That this meeting of the National Union regards the great number of persons who have taken up their abode in this Republic, and who contribute mainly to its support, as entitled to participate in the Government, and considers that the right of voting for members of the Legislature and the office of President should be extended to all male white citizens of full age, who have resided for two years in the State, and who occupy or own property, freehold or leasehold, to the value of £100, or who are earning a salary of £100 per annum.'

It followed as a matter of course, under the law, that those who claimed the rights of citizens must take the oath of allegiance and accept the obligations of citizenship, including military service.

The men who formed that Union were sincere and earnest in their endeavours to secure true equality, to strengthen the Government, to establish confidence and goodwill among all sections of the community, and to guard against the dangers which have threatened, and still threaten, the Republic. But, from the first, the Union was bitterly opposed by Mr. Kruger and the groups of foreign concessionaires who surround him, its every act and word were distorted, and the most unworthy suspicions were sown in the minds of the simple burghers, who are brave, hardy, illiterate, and comparatively uneducated men, animated by a passionate love for independence, and — being prone to fear the loss of it—only too ready to believe those who are their greatest enemies. It is a striking fact that those who value liberty so much should permit the denial of it to others.

The Union published in Dutch and circulated amongst the burghers a pamphlet setting out its objects and dealing, in moderate language, with the causes which led to its formation. Mr. Kruger answered by a manifesto so violent and abusive that the Union, desiring moderation, did not deem it wise to translate

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

it to the English-speaking public. Then Mr. Kruger solicited an interview with the leaders of the Union. I was present, and from that day became, and have remained, convinced that he is animated by intense hostility to the Uitlanders and a determination at all hazards to exclude them from a share in the government of the country. During the discussion it was pointed out to him that, if he gave us the vote, the old burghers would still retain a majority in the Legislature, as we Uitlanders were all congregated in two or three districts, and, consequently, we should only be able to elect (say) six members out of twenty-four; but he was obdurate. He said too that, if we could vote, we would also elect our own President, the election being determined by the majority of votes cast in the whole country. In reply we offered, if he would give us the vote for the Chamber, to leave the right to elect the President in the hands of the Old Burghers for the present, trusting to time to prove our fitness for citizenship in the fullest sense. In vain! Before that interview ended—an interview which I then described as historic—he said to us in anger, ‘Go back, and tell your people I will never give them anything. I shall never change my policy; and now let the storm burst!’ That he told the truth in anger is manifest from the character of the Acts which he has caused to be placed on the statute-book.

Let me say here that the Union’s proceedings were always public; that all its resolutions were promptly forwarded to the Government; that never at any time did it do anything unconstitutional. After its formation it steadily pursued the constitutional course: it endeavoured to influence Boer thought by moderate pamphlets; it held meetings to illustrate the justice of its claims and the danger of denying them; and it presented petition after petition, couched in respectful, moderate language, to the Volksraad praying for an amelioration of the lot of the Uitlanders. It never was violent or disrespectful. Some seven or eight men in the Raad, of higher patriotism and broader views than the others, supported the plea for reforms, but the majority, led always by Kruger, resisted changes in our favour, and, as I

THE CASE FOR THE UITLANDERS.

shall show in detail, passed law after law to make our position worse instead of better.

In '94 a petition to the Volksraad, signed by thirteen thousand men, was received with 'contemptuous laughter and jeers.' In '95 a petition signed by thirty-eight thousand men, praying that they might 'under reasonable conditions be admitted to the full rights of citizens,' was rejected by a majority—inspired by Mr. Kruger. A few Liberal members supported the prayer, and spoke, in solemn warning, of the dangers of refusal. Other members opposed with violence, one (Mr. Otto) saying we should have to fight to get our rights. It must be added that for years we have been deluded by President Kruger with fair words and promises of reforms which were never fulfilled. For instance, in '92 he sent us a written message promising to introduce a measure which would provide for the admission of 'trustworthy persons' to the rights of citizenship. The fulfilment of that promise came in '93, when he introduced, and induced the Raad to pass, a law the virtual effect of which was to exclude us all from civic rights for ever! He had admitted that there were *some* 'trustworthy persons:' yet by his own act he deprived them of the rights he had acknowledged to be theirs—a manifest injustice and a breach of faith combined. I may add that on more than one occasion Mr. Kruger had spoken in public of the Uitlanders as if they were a community of thieves and murderers.

I have dealt at length with the history of the movement in order to show that it proceeded from the great body of the people; and that it was conducted with eminent moderation. How widely the grievances were felt may be inferred from the readiness of thousands of men, with everything to lose and nothing—save liberty and justice—to gain, to take up arms, and from the fact that those who assumed the responsibilities of leaders of the Reform Movement represented all classes of society. I am not a capitalist, but a plain man, nurtured in the traditions of English liberty, who have made considerable sacrifices for what I believe to be the right. But I have yet to learn that capitalists are not

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

entitled to agitate for the rights which the poorest man in England enjoys, and I am only concerned to show that there was, to use Mr. Balfour's word, 'nothing mean, or sordid, or personal' in the motives which animated the Uitlanders and those leaders who for years had ungrudgingly given their time and labour to the work of achieving liberty. We have a just cause, and it is our duty—whatever mistakes may have been made—to prevent the real issues from being obscured, and to see that justice is done all round, lest the very gravest consequences ensue.

Let me now turn to the conditions under which we Uitlanders have to live. In '81 England, though smarting under military disaster, gave back the Transvaal to the Boers, in terms of a Convention. At that time the Constitution conferred the right to acquire full citizenship after two years' residence. The Convention did not guard against the Republic's altering the '*status quo*' as it was present to the minds of Her Majesty's advisers when they negotiated' it. To Mr. Chamberlain we are indebted for raising the point as to the validity of that change. Indeed, the nation which treated the Boers thus generously could scarce have foreseen that they would so use the powers given to them as, within a few short years, to reduce her sons to the position of helots.

The Convention stipulated for the right of strangers to enter and reside in the country; and it must be assumed that this was intended to carry with it the right to acquire civic equality on the basis of the Constitution as it then existed. Nominally carrying out the Convention, the Republic failed to observe the spirit of good feeling and good faith which had, so far as England was concerned, brought it into existence. It made, indeed, the sorriest return for 'magnanimity.' In '82 the period of residence before acquiring the franchise was increased to five years. After the retrocession, the fortunes of the country were for some time at so low an ebb that at one time the Government was compelled to raise five thousand pounds from a private individual, on mortgage of State lands, at twelve per cent.

THE CASE FOR THE UITLANDERS.

interest, to pay its civil servants. Then came discoveries of gold, by which a large population was moved to settle the country, and to invest millions sterling in the development of its resources. This development could never have been done by the Boers, who had not the money, nor the enterprise, nor the knowledge for the work. But, then, for the Uitlander, the Transvaal would have been where it was prior to the gold discoveries. Again, the new settlers made their homes and invested their money on the basis of the Constitution as it existed when they came in: *i.e.*, that they could become burghers after five years' residence. Before, however, that time elapsed, the Legislature increased the period of residence from five years to fifteen. In '90 a Second Chamber was created; and it was provided that Uitlanders could elect members to this Chamber after a two years' residence, and might themselves be eligible for election after four years. This Second Chamber bears no analogy to 'Second' Chambers in other countries: it has no powers in relation to taxation, or any other of the vital functions of government; it does not consider the subjects dealt with by the First Volksraad; and, having no veto or voice on those subjects, it is absolutely powerless to control such legislation by the First Volksraad as affects the lives, liberties, and properties of the people whom it affects to represent. It has been very useful to its inventors, for the fact that it exists has made the outer world believe that the Uitlander is represented. But its true character and the object of its creation are now so well understood in Africa that it is laughed at as a snare and a delusion. All real power, including the power to levy taxes, is reserved to the First Chamber; and from this Chamber the Uitlander is virtually excluded *for ever*, as I shall show.

Concurrently with the granting of this mockery, Mr. Kruger induced the Raad to enact a law providing that the right to vote for the First Chamber might be acquired by Uitlanders after ten years, and that Uitlanders should become eligible for election to the First Volksraad after fifteen years. It must be remarked that the probationary period only begins to run from the date on

which Uitlanders register their names in the Field-Cornets' Lists. In other words, if a man had been in the country (say) ten years, he could not claim the right to vote unless his name had been for ten years on the Lists; so that he must 'serve' for ten years longer, or do without. The law provides that every one coming to reside in the country shall, within fourteen days, enrol his name on the Field-Cornets' books, and, failing this, be liable to a fine of thirty shillings. The average man knows nothing about this, and the Government has never enforced the law. The Field-Cornet of Johannesburg sees thousands of men round him for years whose names are not on his Lists, yet he says never a word, and some day they find that, as they have not been enrolled, their years of residence count for nothing. The policy is obvious. If after ten years' residence a man comes to claim his vote, the Government will shrug its shoulders and send him away, with the remark that he has failed to comply with the very law which it has carefully abstained from enforcing. The net result is—exclusion from citizenship. The word 'Naturalisation,' in the Transvaal law, does not mean that the person 'naturalised' becomes a citizen: it only means that he has renounced his old allegiance, is liable for military service, and has obtained the right to vote for a sham Chamber.

The worst change in the original *status quo* occurred in '93. During the Session of that year President Kruger got the Raad to pass a law providing that a man could only get the right to vote for and become a member of the First Chamber ten years after he had become eligible for election to the Second Chamber. Now, as the law stipulates that no one can be a member of the Second Chamber until he is thirty years of age, it follows that no man could get these rights until he has reached the age of forty, even if he got over the other barriers that have been erected. To get the right to sit in the Second Chamber, he must have taken the oath of allegiance, and this would mean that during twelve years, before he could possibly become a member of the First Chamber, he would be debarred from the enjoyment of full citizens' rights in any State. He would, in short, get only

THE CASE FOR THE UITLANDERS.

the right to sit in a sham Chamber and be liable to military service. But, even if he chose to climb this ladder to freedom, he would find at the end that he could not vote for the offices of President and Commandant-General. Can any one doubt that this means virtually exclusion—an affectation of giving that which is really denied?

At this time there was some hope that the coming election, of twelve new members, would result in the return of men who might reverse Mr. Kruger's policy. To guard against this Mr. Kruger got the Volksraad to insert the following clause in the Act of 1893:—‘Extension of the electoral right cannot occur unless a proposal to that effect has been published in the *Staats Courant* for the period of one year, and at least two-thirds of the said enfranchised burghers have by memorials declared themselves in favour of it.’ Enfranchised burghers are those alone who acquired the right of citizenship before '90, or their offspring! Now, all legislation is, as matter of fact, initiated by the Government—the introduction of private bills being unknown; and it follows that the Government, under this clause, again laid hands on what is virtually the right of preventing any change in a liberal direction. Moreover, it is impossible to suppose that, even if other difficulties could be got over, the consent of two-thirds of the burghers could ever be obtained. The manifest intention of the Raad was to shut its doors for ever.* At last President Kruger was safe, you would have thought? Not so! In '94 he spoke in favour of the Raad's enacting that Uitlander children, born on Transvaal soil, should not enjoy the franchise unless their fathers had taken the oath of allegiance; and, accordingly, this wish of his became law.

My readers will probably be astonished to learn that all this legislation was passed by a Volksraad numbering twenty-four members. It therefore follows that thirteen men may control the destinies of a country which is as large as France, and in

* The Government was, however, careful to reserve to itself the power to admit to full citizenship any person whom it might deem desirable to admit—a power which has been used, I believe, but never in favour of the Uitlander class.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

which two-thirds of the population have no voice ! I need scarce denote the dangers resulting from the smallness in number of the men to be influenced in regard to any measure before the House. It is worthy of mention, however, that in '95 the Raad passed a resolution in favour of increasing the number of its members (to be elected by the Boers, of course) ; and that Mr. Kruger had the assurance, after the prorogation speech, to incorporate in a farewell discourse an almost tearful appeal to members *not* to push the resolution—*not* to increase the voting strength of the Raad : which shows the value which he sets upon a small and pliable Legislature.

The whole scheme, which is ingenious and complex, amounts to this:—The Uitlander must take an oath of allegiance two years after being registered in the Field-Cornets' Lists, if he is ever to look for citizens' rights ; it is virtually impossible for him ever to get those rights ; from the time of taking the oath he becomes liable to military service ; and if he declines this one-sided bargain, his children are denied their birth-right. This means that the Boers, and their descendants, shall constitute a privileged caste for all time, enjoying all political power, and controlling the destinies of those who have made their country for them, and are superior to them in numbers, wealth, culture, and enterprise. Contrast with this the liberal institutions of the Cape Colony. A Transvaal burgher could go to that Colony, and, by merely applying to be made a British citizen, publishing his intention in the *Gazette*, taking the oath of allegiance, and paying a small fee of office—a few shillings—he could be admitted to all the privileges of citizenship. Contrast it, too, with the law of the Dutch Orange Free State, where a stranger can get full citizenship after two years' residence.

Now, I have no hesitation in saying that for all these, and some other Acts against liberty, President Kruger is primarily responsible. His will has been supreme ever since his assumption of office ; without his approval none of these measures could ever have become law ; and it is essential that this be steadily borne in mind. The idea has been carefully diffused that Mr. Kruger is a

THE CASE FOR THE UITLANDERS.

liberal-minded statesman, who is always being prevented from carrying reforms by a reactionary Legislature. I challenge him, as I challenge his supporters, to produce the record of one single utterance of his against these measures. When, too, it is remembered—apart from other proofs—that all legislation is initiated by the Government of which he has been both head and body, it is impossible for the public to discharge him of his grave and indubitable responsibility. No: to Mr. Kruger's policy, and to the administration and operation of the laws for which he is responsible, must be attributed, without hesitation, the exasperation and the abiding sense of wrong which have so moved a community of peaceful citizens; and only by a complete reversal of that policy can permanent peace and prosperity be assured.

Let us now turn to the consideration—necessarily brief—of the relative conditions of Boer and Uitlander. The official handbook issued by the Transvaal Government puts the Boer male population (which includes boys of sixteen) at twenty-five thousand. The male Uitlander population may, I think, be fairly put at fifty thousand. There is no census to guide us; but we have the fact, that in '95 a petition for the franchise was signed by thirty-two thousand five hundred residents in the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg) district alone. It is fair to assume that considerable numbers did not sign it—owing to absence, want of opportunity, and the like. If, then, we add these to the Uitlanders in the other gold-bearing districts—Barberton, Lydenburg, Klerksdorp, Potchefstroom, &c.—the total may fairly be taken at fifty thousand Uitlanders against twenty-five thousand burghers. All the burghers are farmers, living on isolated steadings, hating cities and city ways, able to read and write, but not much more, and reading only newspapers, which to a large extent have persisted in misleading them, and in fomenting race-hatred for selfish ends. (There is one noble exception, *Land en Volk*: it has done splendid work in the cause of just administration.) They are not gifted with the energy and the habits of work born of older societies, where competition has been keen; they have had the run of admirable markets for their produce;

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

they enjoy a practical immunity from taxation ; they love their independence ardently, and are ready to defend it with their lives ; they are kindly-natured people, trusting utterly where they have learned to trust ; but they are slow of speech and thought, and they are suspicious of strangers. Their dominant fear is for their independence ; and it is by playing on this fear that President Kruger has kept himself in power. And now, by the irony of fate, he is able to point to consequences which, but for his policy, would never have occurred, and to justify to the Boer, who does not analyse, that policy by those consequences ! It is a strange juggle, but it is a juggle after his own heart.

The Boers own about half the farms in the Transvaal, having sold the other half to Uitlanders. The Uitlanders own half the land, then, with all the mines and machinery, and the bulk of the town properties. Also, they carry on all the trades, except the agricultural and pastoral industries, which are in the hands of the Boers. It is computed that they and those whom they represent in Europe own nine-tenths of the aggregate value of property in the State. The Boer levies all the taxes ; the Uitlander pays nearly all the taxes. The Boer knows very little from books, and what he has gained by experience of business relates only to stock-breeding and agriculture. Yet he legislates by Divine Right on all the intricate questions raised by a complex modern civilisation, which has come upon him almost as suddenly as if it had dropped from the moon. In this legislation he is assisted by advisers from Europe whose methods and whose ideas of liberty are distinctly Continental ; yet he wonders that men do not think the effect satisfactory, and calmly suggests that dissatisfied people—*i.e.*, the whole Uitlander population—should leave the country in which they have been induced to invest their fortunes. He invites strangers to settle and invest under promise of political partnership after a definite time ; and then, when they have struck root in the soil, and cannot get away without ruin, he refuses the partnership ! What are the results ? It seems ridiculous, in the nineteenth century, to have to state to free people the proposition that taxation and representation go

THE CASE FOR THE UITLANDERS.

together. But it will be well, I think, to state the Uitlander grievances:—

(1st) *Taxation in Excess of the Needs of Government.*—Prior to the last financial year Government had a surplus of one million sterling. The financial year now drawing to a close will, it is believed, produce a revenue of over three millions and a surplus of about one million sterling. The total surplus, therefore, will be two millions sterling. What this accumulation means to the Transvaal Government is only to be guessed at; but men say it is for purposes connected with the Delagoa Bay Railway, and with territorial aggrandisement, at the same time that (it is alleged) there is at this moment £450,000 (all Uitlander money) in Europe to be used for secret ends, as to which, whatever their nature, the Uitlander has no say.

(2nd) *Class Taxation.*—One instance is the Stamp Receipt Law. Only the commercial man (*i.e.*, the Uitlander) is compelled to stamp a receipt—the Boer escapes. Another is the recent tax of twenty pounds a year on farms held by companies, syndicates, or partnerships. The Boer holds his land as an individual—and escapes.

(3rd) *Unnecessary Taxation on the Necessaries of Life by Means of Import Dues.*—The articles selected for heavy taxation are those which the Uitlander must use, and which either are not produced or are insufficiently produced in the Transvaal. Flour pays 7s. 6d. per one hundred pounds; mealies, 5s. a bag; bacon, ham, and butter, 1s. a pound; eggs, 6d. a dozen; and so on. These taxes, and the absence of State-aided education in the English language, make it hard for workmen to keep families in the Transvaal. Many of the married men leave their families in England; while single men stay single. In this way men are compelled to accept conditions undesirable from every point of view; morality and the State suffer; and the Government is able to describe the workers as belonging to a floating population, not entitled to civic rights. Do you see the relation of cause and effect, and the use that is made of the effect? Assuredly no want of revenue can be alleged in justification of this taxation of food-

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

stuffs. A working man, with seven children, told me a short time ago that his breakfast on the previous Sunday consisted of two pounds of ham and some bread, butter, and tea, and that the import dues on it amounted to 2s. 9d. He added, that he 'was d——d if he would stand it:' a sentiment which should have many echoes in this land of the Free Breakfast Table.

The Uitlander further complains of reckless expenditure and no efficient control over public moneys. A large Secret Service Fund is a conspicuous feature in the cost of the administration. Again, the system of concessions and monopolies has operated to the great prejudice of the country. The railways are held by a foreign company (it is domiciled in Amsterdam) under a concession, and are made the means of the greatest extortion. It has been admitted by the Company's manager that a short coal line—forty miles in length—is paying more than enough to cover the interest on the whole system of several hundred miles. This concession vests in a foreign company the power to influence Uitlander affairs, both internal and external, to an incalculable extent. The recent 'Drifts' question illustrated the spirit which animates both the Government and the Company. The diversion of trade to Delagoa Bay, the crippling of British colonies, the fostering of foreign commerce—these ends are kept steadily in view. To compass them, the gold-mining industry is made to pay extortionate rates for the carriage of coal:—in order that the Netherlands Company may carry goods over the Delagoa Bay section of the line at rates which will destroy all chance of Cape and Natal competition, and yet enable it to pay. For it is beyond a doubt that, if the Cape Colony were unable to pay the interest on its lines, and were hampered by hostile tariffs on its produce, it would speedily be reduced to what even Mr. Kruger might deem a 'reasonable' frame of mind.

A Dynamite Concession, held by a German group, is costing the mining industry £600,000 per annum; and the impost will increase with the increased use of the material.

It has been calculated that the amount exacted from the Uitlanders under three heads, viz., unnecessary taxation, railway

THE CASE FOR THE UITLANDERS.

rates, and dynamite, is equal to 5s. per ton on the ore milled on the Rand. There are millions of tons of ore which could be worked at a profit on this margin which cannot be worked now; and, where companies are working, it is clear that this sum could be added to dividends. Moreover, the opening out of new mines would necessarily mean the support and the employment of a largely increased population: a consummation devoutly to be avoided, lest the Uitlander should grow too strong!

There are many concessions besides. We only just escaped one on cyanide—a most important requisite—a monopoly on which was lost by one vote.

The Silati Railway examples how completely our interests are at the mercy of our rulers. A young country, having boundless resources, grants a group of foreigners the concession to build. The Legislature assents to the country's being made guarantor for the capital to be raised for building purposes, with interest thereon, and entrusts the Government with the power to fix the terms. The Government consents to a scheme by which the promoters have only to account for £70 for every £100 obligation issued, and may take for themselves everything subscribed in excess of £70. They take the Government credit to the Continent, issue at £77, and pocket £7 on every £100 obligation. The sums run to seven figures, and the country is made liable for £100 against only £70 received! One member of the Raad gets a large interest in this concession, and about this time distributes carriages to other members—an act the President stoutly defends as moral. The money should have been raised at something near par by the State, and the railway should have been built by and controlled for the people. Yet this is the way some Continental 'interests' are created in the Transvaal.

Johannesburg has been steadily refused those municipal powers which are indispensable to the preservation of health and order. Indeed, the sole 'reforms' which Mr. Kruger has, up to the present, shown any intention of carrying are embodied in a draft Act for the government of the city, which is more unacceptable than the existing law, together with a Press Law

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

framed on German lines. The liberty of the Press and the right of public meeting have been placed on a very unsound footing by President Kruger. He has described the Uitlander claim to the franchise as 'preposterous,' and his henchman, Dr. Leyds, speaking at Amsterdam in February, '96, confirmed my view of the President's policy. 'We (*i.e.*, the Transvaal Government) will not (he said) forbid foreigners from coming into the country to make money, but we will not permit intervention in the government of the country.' Being interpreted, this means that the Uitlander may go on developing the country and enriching the Government and the burghers, but that he shall never have a vote.

Only Boers, or those who have taken the oath of allegiance, can be jurors. Now, as I have shown, the Government has made it unprofitable and impossible for Uitlanders to take the oath; so that, by an effect of reaction, they are deprived of the privilege of being tried by their 'peers.' In '94 an attempt was made to reduce the High Court to a position subordinate to the Government; and there have since been several cases of attempted interference by the Legislature with the jurisdiction of the Court.

Education by means of English has virtually been denied to those who provide the Republic with nearly all its revenue, and Johannesburg has had to lay itself under voluntary contribution to establish its own Department of Education.

Police protection is quite insufficient. Glaring crimes have commonly gone undetected and unpunished. Only burghers or naturalised people may be policemen, and they know little of the wiles of clever criminals. The latest development is the formation of a German corps of police, a small standing army for the repression of Englishmen and the protection of German concessionaires.

There have been many gross cases of dishonesty in the public service—some notorious, and allowed to go unpunished—which could not have occurred under an honest Government; while the bribery of officials has been frequent.

THE CASE FOR THE UITLANDERS.

Lastly, there have been constant plots by certain groups of men against the security of titles; and officials have been associated in schemes to secure to predatory individuals property rightly belonging to Uitlanders or to the State.

Official recognition is denied to English in the Courts—which greatly increases the cost of procedure—in the Public Offices, and in the Railway Service. This, though two-thirds of the people speak English only, and the great bulk of the business done relates to English people.

An attempt was made in '94 to compel Englishmen to render military service, in the absence of civic rights; and five men were imprisoned for declining on principle to serve. The Uitlanders very properly said: 'Give us equality in right as well as in obligation.'

The President's policy has been gradually to exclude the Uitlanders from all chance of taking part in the Government, to curtail freedom of speech, and to destroy the liberty of the Press. The pursuit of it has necessarily led him on to adopt the policy of force; and it can scarce be wondered at that Englishmen decline to accept the prospect of being dragooned into submission to the grossest injustice. Nor is it at all astonishing that in the end veiled threats of alliance with Germany, an open preference to German trade, the importation of German guns, the proposed building of forts, exasperated a set of men who had always been obedient to the law, and who asked for nothing but justice and good government. Indeed it was time. Before the Policy of Force was fully revealed, there had come the menace of a piece of legislation in keeping with the whole tyranny. The *Volkstem*, a newspaper subsidised by a group of Amsterdam financiers and politicians, proposed to invest the Government with powers to declare a man guilty of sedition and to banish him the country, without trial by the Courts. This proposal found favour, and legislation on these lines was to be attempted next Session.

The new draft Press Law, published as one of President Kruger's 'reforms' after the recent troubles, clearly illustrates the spirit of his Government. Its main features are these:—

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

- (a) All articles of a political or personal nature must be signed by the writer;
- (b) The President (with the advice of the Executive) may at any time prohibit, entirely or temporarily, the dissemination of foreign publications which are, *in his opinion*, contrary to good morals or dangerous to peace and order;
- (c) Any one who is guilty through the Press of a 'libel, slander, public violation of decency, or instigates to a punishable offence, shall be punished with a fine not exceeding two hundred and fifty pounds, or with imprisonment not exceeding one year.'
- (d) '*This law does not apply to publications made on behalf, or by order of, or with consent of the Government.*'

In respect of the last extraordinary provision, it is fair to add that it is notorious that the Government subsidises journals, and the State Secretary once defended this course by the startling statement that 'As soon as journals wrote in favour of the Government they became unpopular, and therefore it was just to compensate them.' Under Mr. Kruger's Act such journals might publish anything about anybody, and incur no responsibility; but the independent journal would not dare to expose an abuse, as it would be debarred from pleading the truth and the public good. Now, in '81 the Constitution guaranteed the liberty of the Press. Here is another change in the *status quo*—another infringement of the rights of Englishmen, as secured under treaty.

I append a schedule showing what the Uitlanders protested against at a meeting held in '94. I am prepared, when required, to amplify and prove what I have here set down in outline. I think it will be apparent from what has been said:—

- (a) That the troubles in Johannesburg were not created by capitalists in '95 for speculative purposes, but proceeded from a deep-seated and a widespread sense of wrong and danger, to which the great body of inhabitants was keenly alive as far back as '92;

THE CASE FOR THE UITLANDERS.

- (b) That this sense of wrong is well founded, regard being had to the laws which have been passed, and are in contemplation, to interfere with the elementary rights of citizenship—the right to representation, a free Press, free speech, and fair education ;
- (c) That the administration has been hostile, inefficient, and unjust, while there has been great corruptness ;
- (d) That the fiscal policy of the Government is inconsistent with public rights, while its general policy is fraught with danger not only to Englishmen, but to the peace of South Africa ;
- (e) That President Kruger is primarily and mainly responsible for this condition of affairs ;
- (f) That foreign interests, as opposed to English interests, and foreign connections, as opposed to English connections, are being unduly fostered, and are used to strengthen Mr. Kruger in his policy of hostility to England ;
- (g) That, apart from mere policy, the burden placed on the Uitlanders' shoulders by means of monopolies and concessions is most serious, and is very detrimental to the interests of those who have invested their capital in the Transvaal ;
- (h) That nothing but the franchise and radical reform can be satisfactory ;
- (i) That the rights of Englishmen have of set purpose been destroyed by legislative acts in breach of the Convention which gave back the country to the Boers ;
- (j) That there is no sign of any intention on Mr. Kruger's part to grant reforms.

Are there not substantial reasons to justify the Uitlanders in raising their voices? If not, we have worked in vain, and Liberty is naught. In brief, the position is this: the Boers are uneducated and suspicious; they dislike taxation, and love an unfettered life; they have had a struggle with Englishmen, and

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

fear the loss of Independence. President Kruger knows their weaknesses, and plays on them, with a view to keeping himself in power and to injure Englishmen and England. To assist him in his policy he grants concessions to foreigners, and creates 'interests' for foreigners, with the object of playing off their Governments against England in the event of interference on the part of England. (The Boers would hate German rule as they would English—or worse; and in pursuing his policy Mr. Kruger may give the German a dangerous footing.) Englishmen respect the Boer, and have no desire to interfere with his flag; but they resent the hostility of the Boer Government and Volksraad; ask but fair play and protection for their liberties and properties; and are angered at the fact of foreigners assisting President Kruger to coerce them. The Boers fear the loss of Independence, and ground their refusal of political equality on this fear. Assure them against this, and they can no longer, honestly or reasonably, persist in this refusal.

Nothing short of admission to full civic rights can be satisfactory. Inequality in a Republic is inconsistent with Republicanism. Artificial division of the people into two classes is what we have always striven against. Such division must result, sooner or later, in disaster. Nothing but the power to take part in the administration of the Transvaal will ever content the English Uitlander. He feels—as he has good reason to feel—that there is no safety in mere economic reforms or concessions; that promises and understandings coming into existence to-day will be evaded to-morrow; and that there will never be security until he is represented.

England, by her recent action, has assumed the obligation to see that the Uitlanders' grievances are removed, and the Uitlanders look with confidence to Mr. Chamberlain to discharge that obligation. Apart from the special trust undertaken, it is clear that England has the right to protect her citizens. If Germany asserts the right to prevent a change in the *status quo* as it existed when she concluded a treaty of commerce with the Transvaal, how much stronger a right is England's to insist on

THE CASE FOR THE UITLANDERS.

the restoration of the Constitution to the terms of '81, when she stipulated that her citizens should have the right of settlement! She certainly has the right, as she certainly lies under the obligation, to put an end to conditions which may at any moment plunge South Africa in a racial war. How great the danger of this is may be indicated by the resolution of the Orange Free State Legislature to assist the Transvaal with military force, *whether to resist invasion or to suppress disturbance*. If the Uitlanders should be driven to make another struggle for liberty—as they certainly will in the absence of radical reforms—there can be no doubt the march of Free State troops against them would be the signal for the English-speaking people in Natal and Cape Colony to rush to their aid. They would say (very naturally) that if the Free State Dutchmen have the right to help the Transvaal Dutchmen because they are of common race, they also, being Cape Colony and Natal Englishmen, have the right to help Transvaal English—more especially in view of the fact that they are oppressed.

It is clear that the Transvaal Question must be considered in relation to the whole of South Africa. The steady consolidation of Dutch interests, and the undoubted support of those interests by foreigners as against Englishmen, constitute a grave menace to peace. We have tried, in vain, by conciliation and moderate conduct, to alter Mr. Kruger's policy. We have failed; and we are powerless. And unless the Paramount Power insists on righting the wrong, the position of the Transvaal Englishmen will become intolerable. Already I have heard that many are resolved to leave. Nothing would better please the Boers and their foreign allies. But there are thousands who cannot leave without being ruined, and who cannot remain except as political serfs. The honour of England is involved in the fate of these her children; and I refuse to believe that an appeal to that honour can be made in vain.

Shelving the question, or merely plastering the sores, can only lead to the direst consequences. There should be no reason why Boers and Britons should not pull together in the Transvaal, as

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

they do in Cape Colony. The British earnestly desire to do so ; all they want, besides, is to be relieved from injustice and to avoid the shedding of blood. Is it not possible that a way-out may be found ? The Boer's chief fear is for his independence. Remove that fear and he may be willing to enter into new and happier arrangements. If he still refuse, then he is unreasonable. May I venture to suggest the negotiation of a new treaty, the main heads of which should be these ?—

- (1) The recognition of Great Britain as the Paramount Power in South Africa.
- (2) The guarantee to the South African Republic of territorial integrity, and complete autonomy in internal affairs ;
- (3) The inclusion of Swaziland in the Republic ;
- (4) The granting of citizens' rights to all foreigners upon a reasonable—and for a specified time unalterable—basis, fair representation being secured by redistribution ;
- (5) The placing of the High Court in an unassailable position of independence ;
- (6) Liberty of the Press ; the right of public meeting for all lawful purposes ; education ; and reasonable concessions to the English language ;
- (7) The removal of religious disabilities.

If the State would take over the railways, as it has the right to do, secure free trade in all South African products, and adjust railway matters on a reasonable basis, the election of the President might be left in the hands of the present electorate, for a period to be agreed upon, as a compromise. Perfect equality in trade should be secured to all nations. This should satisfy foreigners that there is no desire to place them at a disadvantage ; and it seems to me that a fair consideration of the facts should convince them all, as it has already convinced the French, that reform would be to the highest interest of them all.

As a South African born, I earnestly hope that a solution, wise and just to all, may be found, and that a grave may be dug for all old animosities.

THE POSITION OF THE
UITLANDERS IN THE
TRANSVAAL

WITH HISTORY OF THE FRANCHISE.

A STATEMENT

Prepared for

The Committee of the House of Commons

BY

MR. CHARLES LEONARD.

POSITION OF THE UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL, WITH HISTORY OF THE FRANCHISE.

IT is advisable to preface the following statement with regard to the position of the Uitlanders in the Transvaal by a statement indicating what has been the history of the Franchise in that country. Briefly it has been as follows :—

1. Originally every white man who settled in that country was entitled to the vote at once.
2. Soon afterwards a law was passed providing that all persons who were not born in South Africa should pay a sum of £25 before being entitled to vote.
3. In 1874 it was enacted that strangers settling in the country who were not possessed of real property in the country should only obtain the vote after a residence of one year. If, however, in the meantime they acquired landed property, the franchise was granted to them at once.
4. In 1882, the law was again changed, and it was enacted that, in order to become naturalised and acquire full citizenship, the new-comer should have resided in the country for a period of five years, and should have been registered on the Field-Cornet's List for that period, and should pay a sum of £25.
5. In 1890 a new departure was made. A law was passed in that year providing for the creation of a Second Chamber, called the Second Volksraad, to the powers and constitution of which further reference will be made hereafter.

It was enacted that aliens could acquire the right to vote for Members of the Second Chamber after having been registered

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

upon the Field-Cornet's List, and having resided in the country for a period of two years. They had to renounce their allegiance to their own country, to take the oath of allegiance to the Transvaal, and to pay the sum of £5 for the privilege. After having been eligible to vote for the Second Chamber for a period of two years, the new-fledged voter (or naturalised person as he is called in the Transvaal) became eligible as a candidate for a seat in such Chamber.

It was further provided, in the same year, that no person who had been so naturalised could vote for a Member of, or become eligible for a seat in, the First Volksraad until the lapse of a period of ten years after he had become eligible for the Second Chamber. No one could be a Member of the Second Chamber until he was thirty years of age, and it will thus be seen that under no circumstances could a man get the right to vote for the First Chamber until he was at least forty, and during the interval that had elapsed from the period of his naturalisation he would be in the position of having renounced his allegiance to the country of his origin, and having rendered himself liable to all the burdens of a citizen, including military service, and that in the meantime he would be deprived of the exercise of the most important rights of citizenship. But even then no one was of right entitled to the franchise. He could only get citizenship after fourteen years' residence, and compliance with the above provisions, *if the First Volksraad passed a resolution admitting him, and in pursuance of regulations which have never been framed.* In 1893 there was legislation again, but an Act of 1894 consolidates and adds to the law.

6. In 1894, the Government, without complying with the provisions of the Constitution requiring three months' public notice of any proposed new law, induced the Volksraad to consent to a further enactment providing that the children of aliens born in the Transvaal should not acquire the rights of citizenship save under the circumstances above set forth, unless their fathers had taken the oath of allegiance, and that even the children of fathers who had taken the oath of allegiance to the State should only

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

acquire the franchise provided they claimed it when they reached the age of sixteen.

It was further laid down that aliens who had acquired the full franchise would not have the right to vote at the election of the President and the Commandant-General (officials who are elected by plebiscite). This right was secured by Act 13 of 1891, and deliberately destroyed in 1893, after many people had taken the oath of allegiance.

The following clause was also added to the law :—

‘No extension of the Electoral right shall be allowed unless a proposal to that effect shall have been published in the State Gazette for a period of one year, and at least two-thirds of the enfranchised burghers shall, by a memorial, have declared themselves in favour of it.’

As all legislation is initiated by the Government, and as in any case it was extremely unlikely that these conditions would ever be complied with, all hope of getting the franchise law altered through the Volksraad was thus destroyed.

This constant tampering with the Constitution was viewed with great alarm, the spirit in which the laws were conceived was clearly recognised, and those persons, thousands in number, who had come to the country with a view of settling there, not unnaturally felt there was no guarantee that the law, unsatisfactory as it was, could be considered as finally settled, and that it would not be continually altered from time to time so as to prevent them for ever from obtaining any voice in public affairs. As it was, the legislation which had been passed practically amounted to perpetual exclusion of the new-comers, inasmuch as they were not prepared to accept the anomalous position of being liable to all the burdens of citizenship without acquiring its privileges for the long period fixed by the statute.

With regard to the Second Chamber, it must be pointed out that this body bears no such relation to the First Volksraad as its name might at first seem to imply. Its powers of legislation are strictly defined.

It has no power to enforce its own Acts, and has no control

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

whatever over the First Chamber. All its acts and resolutions must be submitted to the First Chamber, which has the right to veto them, and even if not so vetoed they do not acquire the force of law until promulgated by the President, who has the right to withhold such promulgation at his discretion. It need scarcely be added that the Second Chamber has no control whatever over the finances. It cannot be wondered at that even ardent South African patriots like the late John Cilliers should have described the Second Raad as a mockery and a sham, and that the Uitlanders declined to regard it as of any real benefit to them.

Before leaving this part of the subject it will be well to note that, by reason of the requirements of the law concerning the Field-Cornet's list, the great bulk of the Uitlanders now in the Transvaal are practically in the same position in regard to the franchise as if they had just arrived in the country. The law requiring registration was not enforced for some years, and the attention of the public not having been drawn to its existence very few persons were aware of it.

In 1888 the Field-Cornet of Johannesburg for the first time drew the attention of the public to the law, and threatened to impose fines if people did not register. The result was that some thousands of people did register their names. The Field-Cornet died, and in 1891, when the question arose again, it was discovered that no lists were in existence containing the names which had been registered. The attention of the Government was drawn to this fact, with a request that proof of registration should be allowed by affidavit, or otherwise, and some promises were made that the matter would be favourably considered, but no redress has ever been granted.

Between 1888 and 1895 many thousands of new-comers entered the country, but no steps were taken to insist upon compliance with the law of registration, with the result that very few people have placed their names upon the list. The inaction of the Government in this matter leads irresistibly to the conclusion that the registration of aliens was not desired.

Between 1886 and 1890 the population of Johannesburg, though constantly and rapidly increasing in numbers, did not

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

give any indication of a desire to take part in the politics of the country, but as events developed it gradually dawned upon them that unless they had some voice in its affairs their interests would be seriously endangered. They had been clamouring for the construction of railways to connect them with the Cape Colony, whose line was then advanced as far as the capital of the Orange Free State; but the President, in pursuance of his policy of promoting the interests of the Netherlands Railway Company, to whom a concession had been granted for the construction of all railways in the State, and of delaying the building of any lines which should compete with his pet scheme of connecting Pretoria and Johannesburg with Delagoa Bay—a port outside the limits of British influence—had refused even to consider the question of railway communication with the British Colonies.

In 1890, owing to droughts and the consequent difficulty of transport by waggon, Johannesburg was threatened with a famine, and popular discontent on the subject of railways became acute. Meetings were held, and committees were formed for the purpose of urging the construction of railways. President Kruger then announced his intention of visiting Johannesburg, and it was said that he would address the public, and would notify a change in his attitude with regard to railway extension from the Cape to the Transvaal. The popular agitation was then stayed. The President came to the Raad and made a violent and ill-judged speech, which greatly excited the public. It was on this occasion that a mob of people hauled down the Transvaal flag, which was flying over the President's temporary residence. Although the President himself attached no importance to this incident, and publicly stated that it was the work of a rowdy crowd, feeling ran very high, and excitement was kept up by much blustering talk on the part of some of the Boers, and their threats to ride into Johannesburg and shoot down those who had incited this act. The agitation was also fomented by the angry railing of the *Volksstem* newspaper of Pretoria—a rabid anti-English organ, owned and published by a Hollander Syndicate. From that date the interest of the Uitlander population in the politics of the

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

country, and anxiety as to their own political position and future, has been constantly growing, and the idea has gradually been gaining strength that nothing but a radical change in the existing state of things would ensure peace and prosperity.

There has always been a considerable section among the Boer population in sympathy with the aspirations of the new-comers and hostile to the methods of administration and legislation prevalent in Pretoria. The views of these Boers have been ably represented by a Dutch newspaper, called *Land en Volk*, edited by Mr. Eugene Marais, an able and patriotic young Transvaaler. It represented the thought of men like Mr. Esselen and other younger and more enlightened burghers, and, in season and out of season, pointed out the dangers arising from the autocratic government of Paul Kruger—the granting of official and political power to an ever-increasing band of intriguing Hollanders, the distribution of concessions and monopolies among hungry fortune-hunters, and other similar abuses.

It is probably true that even the burghers represented by this paper were not prepared to grant the Uitlanders all that they wished for, but there is no doubt that they were ready to go a great length on the road towards reconciliation and equity, and if the principles enunciated by *Land en Volk* had been adopted, there would at least have been an end to corrupt administration, to the intriguing of foreigners, to monopolies and other grievances; but unfortunately this party among the burghers has not been numerically strong enough to alter the situation.

In the meantime the influence of the Hollanders in the State has been constantly on the increase, and nothing has contributed more to the discontent and the irritation of the Uitlander population than the knowledge of the vast power and influence wielded by the foreign Hollander element, and their notorious and open hostility to Englishmen and everything British. They are to be found in every office of the State from the highest to the lowest, and their control of the State railways places them in a position to oppress and annoy the public, and to derive undue advantages from the public revenue to an extent which can hardly be

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

appreciated except by those who have lived in the Transvaal, while the Press maintained by them has lost no opportunity to aggravate the new-comers, and widen the breach between them and the old residents. The Uitlander, groaning under disabilities, suffering between the ignorance of the Boer and the craft of the Hollander, and openly flouted by the latter, looked on for years still hoping that the condition of things would alter. He could not really believe that things could go on as they were going on. He saw the Hollander reaping where he had never sown, arrogantly assuming almost autocratic power over him. He saw the Boer, under the influence of the Hollander, constantly increasing his burdens, and legislating and governing in defiance of all known economic laws; he saw himself being deprived step by step of all hope of political equality; he saw the whole administration of the country going from bad to worse; he saw intrigue constantly threatening his property and even his existence—and he finally decided that the time was come to endeavour to obtain redress by any means within his power.

I shall endeavour now to point out more exactly the nature and extent of the grievances of the Uitlanders, what steps had been taken by them up to 1895 to secure redress, and how their efforts were met. It is first of all necessary in my view to dispel utterly the false charge which has been publicly made, that the revolt in Johannesburg had its origin in any sordid object.

Taking this last aspect first, let me state emphatically that I personally not only had no selfish or monetary object, but that on the contrary I risked everything, that I have lost a practice worth ten thousand a year, while a considerable amount of my property in the Transvaal is under interdict, and that I had not directly or indirectly any motive except the establishment of right. What I have said for myself I believe to be true of every man who was on the Reform Committee. It may also be important to note what the constitution of that Committee was, in view of the statement that has been made that this was a base intrigue to deprive the Transvaal of its independence and to annex it to the Empire. Analysis will show that there were several prominent Americans

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

and a very large number of South Africans on the Committee. I state unhesitatingly that the latter would never have attempted, never have lent themselves to any unjust attempt to deprive the Transvaal of its independence—that all they wanted was fair government, that they saw no prospect of getting such government unless they had a voice in the affairs of the country, and that if President Kruger and the Volksraad had granted them even a measure of justice, they would have taken much less than they were entitled to, in the hope and belief that they would secure full measure of right in due course by patience and wise conduct. As to the Americans, it is idle to suggest that they would ever have lent themselves to such a scheme.

While on this point, it may be noted, too, that it has been suggested that the Reform Committee were the creatures of capitalists, if not capitalists themselves, and that they had selfish or ulterior motives inconsistent with right. Again, analysis will show how unfounded this charge is. The great bulk of the men were representative of the great masses of the population. A large percentage were professional men, including lawyers, doctors, engineers, and some were merchants; all had a great deal to lose, and, in short, the whole constitution of that Committee shows the charge to be groundless. For convenience I trace here first the origin and growth of popular discontent, and I hope to show conclusively the falsity of the statement made, that at the end of 1895 discontent was artificially created by the capitalists for their own base objects. I have described shortly the conditions which existed up to the time when President Kruger changed his railway policy, and I may accurately describe the relations which existed between the governors and governed up to that time, by saying that the Uitlander had displayed no great anxiety to get political power; that he was engaged in building up the mining industry, and that he would have been content for a very long time at least to leave the power in the hands of the Boer, provided he was justly and honestly governed. He had really not thought much about politics. Those who had thought about, and who had been discontented with, the change of the franchise laws were:

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

comparatively few, and they, in common with the many, still hoped that matters would mend. Fair words were meted out to them on all possible occasions, they were told the President wanted to 'lead them up to equality;' they had not learnt to understand the value of official promises, and they did not realise the character of the policy which President Kruger and his Hollander advisers were following. I believe I am correct in stating for others, what I can state for myself, that they regarded the Boers with more than friendly feeling; that they looked upon Kruger as an honest, if rugged, old hero; that they were even willing, in deference to Dutch sentiment, to concede a great deal which it was scarcely just they should concede, and that it was only when their faith in promises and their hopes of amelioration were undermined that they saw the necessity of association and the need for action. The result was the establishment of the political association known as the Transvaal National Union. This association was formed in 1892 with an Afrikaner as its chairman. To show the objects of the Union and the spirit which animated its proceedings, I annex extracts from the reports of some of its meetings. Evidence of this sort could be multiplied if wanted. In this year, the Union, thinking it wise to inform the burghers of the country what its origin and objects were, published a pamphlet in Dutch, and sent it to every homestead in the land. That pamphlet shows what was complained of at the time and what the Union sought. The Hollander Press had been distorting the objects of the Union in every conceivable manner, and it was necessary to counteract the mischievous influences at work. The *Press*, a subsidised newspaper, published a manifesto in reply to the pamphlet, which I am assured was revised, if not written, in the President's house. I have only got newspaper reports commenting on this manifesto, but I recollect its tone and general contents. It called the Uitlanders liars, traitors, and snakes in the grass, and was couched in the most violent language. The epithets above mentioned cropped up at every second paragraph, and it breathed a spirit of such dire hostility that men became well-nigh

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

hopeless. Still they continued their endeavours in the belief that a change would be brought about through the burghers. It is significant that even papers like the *Standard and Diggers' News*, which was a Government organ, recognised the justice of the Uitlanders' claim, and I think it is permissible to refer to extracts from leading articles appearing in that newspaper, which I annex. It was then, and still is, a supporter of the Kruger Government. Where the charge is made that the National Union was merely seeking to stir up strife on the pretext of securing political rights, I am entitled to refer to a speech made by Mr. Esselen. This gentleman, born in South Africa, is, I believe, of German origin. No one who knows him can accuse him of friendship towards the English as against the Dutch. He had been a Judge of the High Court, and has held the office of Attorney-General in the Transvaal, and when using language such as he did in speaking from the National Union platform in September, 1892, his statements are entitled to the greatest weight. He said:—

‘I agree with this movement. I may tell you that I am in entire accord with the movement of the National Union, and I am proud to be asked to say a few words.’

Speaking of the suggestion made by the Hollander Press that this was a movement fomented from outside, he said that it was—

‘An absolute absurdity. But it is a further step in that class of misrepresentation which now wishes to blind the eyes of the burghers again as to your real motives. What is that motive, gentleman? I have heard to-night with surprise and with deep regret the report which your Committee has brought back from the powers that be in Pretoria. I wish to ask you whether you can give any credence to the statements of a man (President Kruger) who says he is going to unite two people, when the whole of his acts for the last ten years show it is absolutely untrue. I do not speak without knowing what I am talking about—I say you have been kept out of your political privileges, not because the people have kept you out from fear that your being granted these privileges would wreck or endanger the independence

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL

of this country, but to enable a few, and a greedy few, to rule this country for their own ends.'

After tracing the changes in the law of the franchise he said :

'Who was it that proposed the measure that was now in force that the new-comer in this country should only get full franchise after he had been here fourteen years, and then only at the sweet will of the legislative body? Who was it proposed that? Was it not the same man who gave your Committee the answer to do nothing more? I ask you, gentlemen, can you after that sit still and follow the advice that is given you to hold no more meetings; will you allow yourselves to be caught, gentlemen? I say you would not be doing your duty to yourselves and the South African Republic.'

Speaking with reference to the proposition that the President's power was supreme and sufficient to bring about any change he wanted, he said:—

'Now, I ask you, has he gone to the burghers and said, There are thousands of men well-disposed to the Republic that want the franchise, and I ask you to give them that franchise—I advise you to give them that franchise. I think you will strengthen the Republic if you allow them the equal privileges? All these years has he even raised a single word for you? If he had gone on his travels to meet the burghers and laid your just cause before these burghers, is there any one who doubts what the answer would be? If any one doubts he would be a lunatic, and therefore I say, trust them not, they are fooling you—rely upon your own powers, rely upon the justice of your case.'

No man who reads the records of the speeches made at the first meeting of the Union, and at many subsequent meetings, can doubt that there was a strong sense of wrong—that the people had awakened to the necessity of endeavouring to get redress of that wrong, while on the other hand they desired, not to upset, but to strengthen, the Government. Shortly after the first meeting an intimation was received from the State Secretary that the Presi-

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

dent would like to meet some delegates from the Union—seven delegates met him on the 1st September, 1892—I was one of the number. Previous to that time I had believed that President Kruger, in his own time and in his own way, would bring about a change in the conditions of which we complained. I too had swallowed the bait, and believed that he was kept back by a reactionary Volksraad from at once doing justice, but after that meeting I never believed this. Embodied in one of the newspaper reports which I append will be found a report which the deputation brought back to and laid before a public meeting at Johannesburg of the Union. That report is accurate. Not wishing, however, to inflame public opinion, which was very excited, the deputation did not report what had left a deep impression on their hearts, namely, the badly disguised hostility shown by President Kruger. It was on this occasion that President Kruger said to me, ‘Go back and tell your people I shall never give them anything: I shall never change my policy, and now let the storm burst.’

There had been nothing in the conduct or behaviour of the deputation to justify any outburst of anger. On the contrary, we had treated the President with the greatest respect, as head of the State, notwithstanding the extreme divergence of our views. And here I may add, generally, that the charge which has been made by the Boers, and which was repeated in a proclamation of the President’s issued in 1895, that demands had been made upon the Transvaal Government in tones so insolent that it was impossible on that ground alone to concede them, is absolutely false. I refer to the petitions, to the resolutions, and to the speeches of the National Union to disprove this gross charge. I wish to call special attention to a written message which was conveyed to the Union by President Kruger, who, after his undiplomatic treatment of the deputation, appeared to have thought it necessary to reassure the public mind. This message will be found appended. In that message President Kruger admitted that the Uitlanders were in the majority; indeed, he made this the ground for objecting to their obtaining political rights, saying that they would swamp his old burghers. He admitted the injustice of the

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

existing franchise by saying that he was prepared to bring forward a scheme whereby the names of a certain number of people whom the Government deemed trustworthy should be submitted to the Volksraad each year with the object of securing to them full burgher rights. I may state here that the only fulfilment of that promise came subsequently in the aggravation of the laws against the Uitlander, as I shall show later on. This proposal was rejected as wholly insufficient to satisfy the just claim of the Uitlanders. They deemed the great body of people trustworthy and fit to exercise electoral rights. They proposed that those persons who had resided in the State two years, and owned freehold or leasehold property of the value of £100 or so, were in receipt of an annual income of £100, and who took the oath of allegiance, should be admitted. The Government proposal amounted at the best to making the people dependent upon the will of the Government, instead of the contrary, and there was no guarantee as to who would be so called to exercise the right of citizenship. On the contrary, there was a well-grounded fear that such a proposal would only result in the Government selecting for citizenship people who would support its policy and neglect the broad interests of the public.

Nothing could be greater or more extraordinary than the enthusiasm and union of the people who attended the meetings of the National Union. The capitalist class were conspicuous by their absence—they were, in fact, abused roundly for leaving the professional and commercial classes and the working men to fight for liberty. They were charged with pursuing their own selfish ends at the expense of principle, and they were for a time probably the most unpopular men in Johannesburg. And I may here, once for all, state that they stood aloof from the National Union and its work from 1892 until 1895. Resolutions, appeals, arguments, however, fell on deaf ears. The Government gave one parrot cry in answer: ‘You will swamp our burghers.’ In vain it was pointed out to them that fate had placed the Uitlanders in one or two districts, that by the distribution of seats as the law stood the Uitlanders, if they had the full franchise, would only be

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

able to send a minority of members to the legislature, that redistribution could only come about by an act of the Volksraad, and that the old burghers of the Volksraad, who would in any case be in a majority, could control such an act. In vain we urged that the mere fact of men wishing to have a vote and to exercise their influence constitutionally was the best proof that they had no revolutionary designs, and that, while they would not be able in the legislature to carry any measure connected with high politics or the independence of the country, they would be able directly to represent their constituents in the complex matters connected with the mining industry and commerce, to enlighten their legislators who were simple farmers, and to co-operate for the common good, while powerless to do any harm. Meeting after meeting was held from time to time, but, instead of things getting better, they grew worse.

In 1893 the Volksraad consisted of a body of men, twenty-four in number, who had always, by a majority, backed President Kruger and his policy up. It was deemed hopeless to appeal to a Volksraad constituted as this one was. There was in that Volksraad a minority of eight or nine men, amongst them Messrs. Lucas Meyer, the two de Jagers, Loveday, and Jeppe, who held enlightened views, and, with a broader patriotism, urged an alteration in the condition of things, the granting of a liberal franchise, and the redress of other grievances. These men and their utterances in the Volksraad constituted a strong defence of the position taken up by the Uitlanders—they, at least, could not be charged with treasonable intentions; they supported reform, but they were always out-voted. I believe that at a private caucus of this party they were prepared to recommend a five years' franchise, and I may add here unhesitatingly that if such a franchise had been offered to the Uitlanders, coupled with reasonable provisions securing to the Uitlanders the benefit of the time they had lived in the country in calculating their right to the franchise, they would gladly have been accepted. In 1894 the National Union prepared and obtained signatures to a petition praying for the franchise on equitable terms. I have not got

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

a copy of that petition, but its language was respectful and moderate. It was signed by 13,000 people. When this petition was considered, it was rejected scornfully amid laughter and jeers.

I had gone to England in May, 1894, for a change, but it is a matter of history that in 1894 the relations between the Government and the people became very strained. The Government went to war with a chief named Malaboch, and claimed the right to exact military service from the Uitlanders, while denying them civic rights. The Uitlanders very fairly said, 'Give us equality of rights and we will take equality of obligation—make us citizens and we will fight your battles.' Five men in Pretoria who had been commandeered refused on principle to go to the front; they were imprisoned, and appealed to the High Court. The Court decided that they were liable to military service, and they were sent to the front under compulsion. This greatly exasperated public feeling. Sir Henry Loch visited the Transvaal, and the result was that the Pretoria Government undertook to exempt British subjects from military service. What had exasperated men peculiarly, apart from the broad question, was the fact that Germans and Hollanders, while enjoying peculiar privileges in the country, were exempt from military service. The difficulty was felt by Sir Henry Loch, but I am not aware whether the matter has ever been settled upon a satisfactory basis. I wish to make it quite clear, however, that the National Union, in seeking citizenship for its members, clearly recognised and accepted liability to military service, or any other obligation of a citizen, as a liability attaching, as a matter of course, to admission to citizenship. Here, again, there has been great distortion of facts. English subjects who were denied political recognition resented being driven like sheep to fight in wars or squabbles in the making of which they had no voice. Their action was immediately distorted, and it was converted into an additional reason for not giving them the franchise, the Krugerites and the Hollanders saying, 'Here are men who want a vote but won't fight.' It is a matter of history, too, how President Kruger was lavish in his promises to those English subjects who had gone to

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

fight willingly, how he promised them the franchise because they had fought, and how that promise has been broken.

The greatest excitement and indignation was caused by the Government enforcing the proposition that while men were liable for military service they were not entitled to citizens' rights. In July, 1894, a meeting was held in Johannesburg by the National Union, and the speeches made at that meeting, which I append hereto, with the resolutions passed, show clearly what the arguments on behalf of the Uitlander were and what the temper was that had been aroused, not merely by the attempt to compel military service, but by the denial of rights. I would direct special attention to the speech made by Mr. Advocate Wessels, because he is an Afrikaner, of pure Dutch descent, whose ancestors have been for many generations in South Africa. I direct attention to the protest setting forth categorically the grounds of grievance on behalf of the Uitlanders which was formulated and adopted by that meeting. It will be seen that Advocate Wessels spoke in language of withering contempt of the capitalists, whom he described as skulking round the street corners instead of assisting in the struggle for political freedom. These records should destroy for ever the false statement that discontent had been fomented in 1895 for the selfish purposes of capitalists.

I returned to South Africa at the end of 1894, and the Hon. John Tudhope, a man born in South Africa, who had been a Minister of the Crown at the Cape, having resigned his office as Chairman, I was elected in succession to him. I can state with absolute honesty that at that time I still hoped for a peaceful solution of the problem, and that I had never contemplated the use of force. The National Union, resenting the intrusion of Hollanders, had adopted the cry of 'Africa for the Afrikaners,' as against 'Africa for the Hollanders,' and hoped to get this enforced by the will of a majority of the Volksraad members. Elections were to take place in the early part of 1895, as the period of office of twelve out of the twenty-four members of the Volksraad had terminated. There was a minority of seven or

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

eight favourable generally to honest government and reform, and if the principles they represented should be triumphant at the polls, we were assured that there was a reasonable prospect of a hostile majority being changed into a favourable one. We were also told that meetings in Johannesburg only afforded grounds for misrepresentation and bitterness, and that the result of such meetings was that our friends in the Volksraad were unable successfully to establish their views, so we were counselled to hold no more meetings, but to petition the Raad again. It was accordingly resolved to follow this policy, and during the whole of 1895 no meeting of the National Union was held publicly. The Committee, however, was active, and was the means of formulating petitions on several points. Among the subjects brought forward by means of such petitions were the taking over of the railways from the Hollander Concessionaires in terms of the concession. This was regarded as most essential, as the control by the State of the railways would deprive the foreign influence from Holland of enormous power over our destinies. That influence had been used by them not only to burden the industry—to say nothing of the irritation caused by their forbidding the use of the English language in relation to business, nineteen-twentieths of which was carried on by Englishmen—by the policy of extortionate charges and the obstruction of trade passing through the channel of the British Colony of the Cape; and very strained relations had been brought about with the neighbouring States. In fact, it was believed that the closing of the drifts or fords through the Vaal River, and the prohibition of waggon traffic between the Colonial Railway Terminus at the Free State Border and Johannesburg, with the view to forcing the mercantile community to submit to the unjust burdens laid upon it by the Netherlands Railway Company, would cause an open rupture. The Transvaal Government was eventually compelled to allow this traffic to be resumed, but the incident is a striking illustration of the lengths to which the Government, incited thereto by Hollanders, was prepared to go in the spirit of hostility to British trade and the interests of British subjects in the country.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

A large section of the Dutch population were at one with the Uitlanders on the question of railways, and petitions, very influentially signed by both, were laid before the Volksraad showing the most cogent reasons why the State should take over the railways. The status of the judges, too, and their salaries, municipal government, and other subjects, were dealt with by way of petition; but the point upon which the energy of the National Union was concentrated was the franchise. I append a copy of a petition on this subject which was presented to the Volksraad in 1895. Its language is so moderate and respectful that it gives the lie direct to the statements made on behalf of the Transvaal Government that the Uitlanders had demanded their rights from the Government in language which would not have been tolerated in their country of origin.

A number of new members had been elected to the Volksraad, and the public abstained in the mean time from demonstrations, and cherished the hope that the petition for the franchise, upon such fair terms as the Volksraad might think fit, would receive favourable consideration. This hope was doomed to disappointment. The Volksraad, after debate, in which much intemperate language was used concerning the Uitlanders, refused their prayer; one member went so far as openly to declare, in the course of debate, that if the petitioners wanted the rights they asked for, they would have to fight for them. This, then, was the decision of the Volksraad which would remain in power for years, and it was manifest that no improvement could be expected from that quarter.

It must be noted here that it was not until the beginning of 1895 that the so-called capitalists for the first time took part in political affairs. They subscribed considerable sums of money to be used within the terms of the law in assisting the Progressive party to secure the return of Progressive members to the Raad, and they for the first time joined in petitioning for the franchise. The petition just mentioned was signed by about 38,500 people, of whom 32,500 were resident in the Witwatersrand Johannesburg Goldfields. The remaining 6000 signatures came from

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

various parts of the country. The signatures were obtained honestly, and men were eager to put their names to the petition. The National Union was scrupulously careful in its endeavours to ascertain the genuineness of the signatures, and could only discover eight names which it was necessary to erase, those being names of men not resident in the State, although they passed a greater part of their time there. Yet some members of the Volksraad declared that the great bulk of the signatures were forgeries, and that no importance could be attached to the petition as a genuine document.

I propose to consider next the question of Revenue and Expenditure of the State and the incidence of taxation; but before going into the figures under this head it will be as well to consider what the relative strength of the Uitlander and the burgher population is, and what is the position of the Uitlander with respect to his holding of property in the State.

It is difficult in the absence of proper census returns to give an exact estimate of the white population of the Transvaal. In 1880 it was officially stated that there were 8000 burghers in the State, and the main reason advanced for the retrocession of the country in 1881 was that it appeared from memorials that 6500 out of this 8000 were opposed to the continuance of British rule. The burghers have only increased by natural process during the last sixteen years, as comparatively few men have been naturalised during that period. An official handbook issued by the Government in 1895 stated that the persons liable to military service numbered 25,000. Even assuming this figure to be correct (as to which doubt may exist), I take it that it means that there were 25,000 persons registered on the Field-Cornet's List, but, as a great many people who have not full burgher rights are so registered, the number of actual burghers must be considerably less than 25,000. This view is supported by the fact that at the last Presidential election, which was very keenly contested, only 15,000 votes were cast in all—namely, about 8000 for President Kruger and about 7000 for General Joubert—and it must be borne in mind that every burgher from the age of sixteen

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

years upwards is entitled to vote. Indeed it was openly stated at the time in the Transvaal that a considerable number of persons had voted more than once. On the whole it may be doubted whether there are within the State more than about 20,000 full enfranchised burghers of the age of sixteen years and upwards.

As to the Uitlander population, we have the fact that on the Witwatersrand Goldfields alone the petition for the franchise was signed by over 32,000 men; and taking the other districts such as Barbarton, Klerksdorp, the Lydenburg Goldfields and Murchison Goldfields, and the various towns in which there are considerable bodies of Uitlanders, it is reasonable to assume that the total body of male Uitlanders numbers nearly 50,000, or, in other words, is about twice as many as the male burgher population. The President himself, writing as far back as 1892, stated that the Uitlanders outnumbered the Boers, and the former have increased in number vastly since then. A local census of the population of Johannesburg within a three-mile radius of the Post Office, taken in 1896, gives the number of male Europeans over the age of sixteen years within that area as 25,058. The accuracy of the census may be doubted, but in any case to this number must be added the large population spread along the mines to the east and west, and those settled in towns like Boksburg, Germiston, Krugersdorp, and other localities. Practically the whole of this population is Uitlander, the burghers being almost to a man composed of farmers.

Virtually all the commerce, mining, and other industries are in the hands of the Uitlanders, and the whole of the property connected with these employments and the capital invested therein belong to them. The burghers confine their attention to pastoral and agricultural pursuits, and do not invest their money in other industries. It is computed that of the land held under private titles about one-half has been purchased in freeholds by the Uitlanders, often at very large prices, the other half remaining in the hands of the Boers. There are vast tracts of land, including large areas in the occupation of the natives of the north, which

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

are still vested in the State, and a considerable portion of this land is but ill-suited to European occupation. This fact must be borne in mind with reference to the statement recently made in a Government newspaper to the effect that statistics were being prepared which would prove that the Uitlanders owned only one-fourth of the *area of the State*.

To come now to the question of Revenue.

Before the discovery of the goldfields the Republic was in an almost bankrupt condition. Its total revenue may be set down as not exceeding £150,000 per annum, and this is believed to be a very liberal estimate. The revenue for 1894 was, in round figures, £2,250,000. In 1895 it had risen to nearly £3,250,000; while from trustworthy data I am in a position to state that the revenue for 1896 was over £4,500,000.

I have made an analysis of the sources of revenue, and calculate that of the total revenue of over £3,000,000 for 1895 the Boers only contributed about £160,000. If I double these figures for safety sake, and make it £320,000 (although it is really not anything like this), the enfranchised population paid only something like one-tenth of the total revenue, while the Uitlander, who is excluded from all representation, paid the balance; and it must be noted that the constant increment to the revenue comes almost exclusively out of his pocket, as the taxation paid by the rural population is not increasing proportionally.

The incidence of taxation is so arranged as to favour the burghers at every point, at the expense of the aliens. The farmers, who make the laws, take care that the burden placed upon the class to which they belong should be as light as possible. Accordingly we find that in the Schedule of Articles liable to Customs Duty all those things which the Uitlanders require are subject to heavy taxation, while things which are used by the Boers—for instance, sugar, coffee, and clothing—are taxed comparatively lightly. (I append a copy of the Schedule.)

Another feature of the situation is that the Boers have taken advantage of their power to impose hostile tariffs on such things

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

as meal, flour, maize, meat, bacon, ham, forage, pigs, cattle, sheep, and so on. This has been done partly with the object of raising revenue, but mainly for protective purposes, regardless of the fact that the produce of the country was, and is, wholly insufficient to supply the local requirements of Johannesburg district alone. I may say boldly that there is not a single pound of flour, such as Europeans are accustomed to use, produced in the Transvaal, and yet this article is taxed at the rate of 7s. 6d. per 100 lbs., plus a $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem* duty. The same duty is imposed upon meal, nearly all of which has to be imported. Tinned meats and vegetables, including potatoes, are taxed at 25s. per 100 lbs., although they are not produced in anything like sufficient quantities in the country. The tax on bacon and ham amounts approximately to 1s. a lb. The result has been that the middle classes and working people have felt the cost of living to press very heavily upon them, and consequently, in very many cases, married men are unable to keep families in the country. This excessive taxation has, moreover, been maintained, notwithstanding the fact that there has been for years a very large annual surplus in the Treasury, and in spite of reiterated petitions for relief.

The expenditure of the country has been maintained on the most lavish scale, and is greatly in excess of anything that is required for the purposes of proper government.

Fixed salaries amounted in 1895 to £570,000; this was exclusive of the amounts voted for the administration of justice, for education, hospitals, police and prisons, and so on.

I find that under the heading of Public Works £353,000 was spent in 1895, although the country is practically unbridged; its roads are neglected, and the State owns no railways. The items marked 'Divers Services, £95,000,' and 'Special Expenses, £205,000,' are totally unexplained, although there is no doubt that a large portion of these sums is spent on secret services, among which it is believed that the subsidising of newspapers figures. In 1894 the items of Special Expenditure and Divers Services amounted to £330,000 and £163,500 respectively.

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

In 1895 the sum of £154,000 was appropriated under the head of military services. It is believed that these items have since been largely increased. The item 'Purchase of Explosives, £519,000,' is one of which the public complained bitterly. It amounts to this—that, having imposed an oppressive dynamite monopoly upon the public, the Government advances without security to the monopolists £500,000 at a time out of the public revenue to enable them to exploit the monopoly. Moreover, no information is vouched to the public as to where the Treasury surpluses are deposited or the use to which they are put, and the public mind is very uneasy upon these points. I have made some calculations based on the returns for 1895, and I find that the amounts raised by taxation in excess of the expenditure, by the excess of charges by the Netherlands Railway Company for the carriage of coal and merchandise for the goldfields as compared with the Cape Railway charges, and the sum unjustly exacted from the public by means of the dynamite monopoly, represent in all a sum approximately equal to 10s. upon every ton of ore mined on the Rand.

The total value of the gold product is between £8,000,000 and £9,000,000 per annum, and gold is virtually the only export from the country. The amounts paid to the shareholders interested in the various companies in 1895 was about £1,500,000. I cannot give any accurate estimate of the total capital invested in the gold industry, but it is very large. The profits of the Netherlands Railway Company during 1896 were, I believe, £1,500,000 (gross revenue being about £3,000,000), while the profit made out of the dynamite monopoly was probably not less than £400,000. The Government revenue for 1896 was over £4,500,000.

The Uitlander population have protested in vain against wasteful expenditure, against the appropriation of public moneys for purposes of which no one knows anything, and against the lavish outlay for military purposes, which were only intended to overawe those who would be the most peaceful citizens in the world if they were only justly governed. They have, however, no voice and no control, and the spirit in which the government is

administered has all along been such as to fill them with apprehension that matters would go from bad to worse. The constitution of the Government and the distribution of power is a further grievance. The President and the Executive Council have gradually obtained powers in the State out of all proportion to what is just. The First Volksraad, in whom the supreme power of legislation is vested, consists of only twenty-six men, most of them under the strong personal influence of the President; and, being so few in number, that body can be easily cajoled or bullied or otherwise influenced. Hitherto the President has found that he has only to declare that any given measure is necessary for the purpose of maintaining the independence of the Republic to secure acquiescence in his project. All legislation is initiated by the Government—private bills being unknown; and the result is that practically the whole power in the State is in the hands of the Executive Council; and a small clique of leading families, who, with an army of Hollander officials, and the Amsterdam and other Continental financiers—who control the railways—and the German dynamite monopolists, are in the position to treat the Uitlanders and their industries exactly as their fancy or prejudices may dictate, and whose every act evidences a confirmed hostility against the Uitlanders, and against everything that would tend to strengthen British influence, benefit British trade, or favour British traditions or methods of government. And this in face of the fact that the vast majority of the Uitlanders consists of British subjects.

As instancing the powers which the Legislature willingly accords to the Executive, it may be noted that the latter body has been constituted the sole and final judge in the matter of disputed elections. When the second dynamite monopoly was being contrived, the Government actually got the Volksraad to confide to it the power to determine what the tax on dynamite should be. This was ultimately fixed at $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound. Up to comparatively quite a recent period the Volksraad used annually to delegate to the Executive Council the absolute power to legislate during the recess upon matters of urgency, a power which was in

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

some instances manifestly abused; as, for instance, when the resolution was passed (in consequence of the Government having been cast in damages at the suit of a man who had been seriously injured by reason of the misfeasance of persons employed in constructing public roads) to the effect that the Government should not be held liable in similar cases in future.

The spirit in which the Legislature acts may further be demonstrated by the manner in which it has interfered with private rights; thus in two instances it has passed laws in cases absolutely *sub judice*, depriving the Court of the right to proceed to judgment. A flagrant case occurred in connection with a matter of vital importance to the mining industry. An action had been instituted by the mining companies to set aside certain cyanide patents under which large royalties were being extracted from the industry. While this action was pending, the Volksraad actually entertained a petition for an alteration in the Patent Laws which would contain a retrospective provision declaring in effect that no patent which had been registered for three years should be challenged. This proposed law was actually put to the vote, and was only lost by the casting vote of the Chairman of the Volksraad. If it had been carried it would have defeated the action then pending. Since then the patents have been declared void by the Court. The feeling of insecurity created by this incident was most profound. Again, the Volksraad was induced by the Government to attempt legislation in connection with what is known as the Bewaarplaatsen, which created great anger and unrest. Briefly, the facts were these. Certain companies held mining claims and also required rights for the depositing of tailings. Five or six of the companies had acquired the legal right to such sites by means of claim licenses entitling them to the minerals under the land as well as the use of the surface. An amendment of the gold law was passed providing for the granting of depositing sites at reduced licenses, and declaring that no such site should be held upon claims. This was before the value of deep-level claims had been demonstrated. The local Mining Commissioner thereupon required the companies to give up their mining title to the claims

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

in question, and take out licenses for depositing sites upon them. The companies refused to do this, but the Commissioner insisted that they should comply, assuring them that no one else could have the mineral right. The next step was that the Government introduced proposed alterations to the gold law by which persons other than the holders of the depositing sites should acquire the right to the minerals. It was proposed that such underground mining rights should be granted to the first 'applicants' therefor, regardless of the equities and of the fact that the companies had held the legal title to the minerals, and had given them up practically under compulsion, and under the assurance that no one else could get them. A widespread conspiracy existed among a body of persons who were known to infest the Government offices, and to be always on the alert to obtain property which did not belong to them by underhand means—some of them the President's personal friends and election supporters—and if this scheme had not been thwarted by the energy of those engaged in the mining industry, these individuals would have been placed, without consideration, in the possession of property, the value of which had been demonstrated at great cost by the companies, and to which the companies had every equitable right, which was worth millions, and which was necessary to their continued existence as companies.

It was commonly reported and accepted as the truth, that large sums of money were spent in Pretoria in connection with both the cyanide matter and the attack on the companies just described. I think I am right in saying that these grave abuses, and the risks that constantly threatened of a recurrence of such things, finally satisfied the capitalist class that they would have to join in the endeavour to get better government.

Another grave cause of unrest was the unsatisfactory status of the Judges under the High Court. The Uitlander had no other independent guardian of his rights, and he constantly saw with alarm, either an actual or a threatened interference with the jurisdiction and independence of the Judges.

I have cited some cases above in which the Volksraad did in-

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

terfere with pending litigation. Public men amongst the Boers did not seem to realise the dangers arising from this state of things. I recollect the Minister of Mines saying openly to me once, that if the Judges thwarted the Government in a certain matter they would know what to do. I asked what he meant, and he said, 'We will depose them.'

The salaries of the Judges were not fixed, but were liable to alteration at any time. They were wholly inadequate, and the wonder was that good men could be found to accept the office at the pay given. At a time when puisne Judges were only getting £1250 per annum, they were expected to pay their own circuit expenses, although the living was very high. The position of the Judges suffered in the public estimation on the ground of their impecuniosity, and the wonder is that the Court has worked as well as it has done.

In 1894 a set attempt was made by the Government to reduce the Judiciary to a position of absolute dependence upon the Executive, and I cannot do better than append an extract from an address by the Chief Justice of the country, given at Rustenberg, on the 13th October, 1894, in which he did not hesitate to say that if the proposed changes were carried out the independence of the country would be lost. The Government has also steadily resisted the desire of the Johannesburg population of the establishment of a permanent Court at that place, although by far the greater portion of the litigation in the country arose at Johannesburg. Much unnecessary cost has thus been caused to the public, and the interests of justice have suffered materially.

Another great grievance is the state of the law concerning public education. In 1895, a sum of £56,800 was voted for schools, but the Uitlander population practically derived no advantage from the education vote, owing to the fact that the Department, the head of which was a Hollander, practically withheld any subsidy from schools in which tuition was not given through the medium of the Dutch language. Public feeling was very strongly aroused at this state of things, and so keenly did the Uitlanders feel upon the question, that they established a Council

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

of Education of their own supported by voluntary contributions, and this Council has been endeavouring to make good the want which should have been supplied by the Government. Recently there has been a great parade about a so-called concession which has been made, and the public has been led to believe that schools in which English is the medium of education are now liberally subsidised. As a matter of fact I believe that the new law only permits the Head of the Education Department in his discretion to extend Government aid to schools where children are taught in English, but after the fifth standard has been passed it is compulsory that Dutch should be the medium of education. When the Uitlander Council of Education was established, it was actually suggested by the other side that the law should be altered so as to enable the Government to close such schools as might be voluntarily established for the purpose of giving education in English.

The Government has further resisted all attempts made by the Johannesburg people to establish a satisfactory system of Municipal Government. It has alienated what should have been important sources of revenue, such as market dues and the supply of light and water and tramways, for all of which concessions have been granted to individuals for their own profit. It has refused to Johannesburg the power to raise a loan upon the security of the town's properties, which would have enabled the inhabitants to procure a satisfactory system of sanitation. The result is, that life is at times intolerable from dust storms, disease is disseminated, and the death rate has reached 59 per thousand in a place which naturally is as healthy as any place in the world.

I see it stated in the Johannesburg newspapers that the new scheme for the government of the town is regarded as even less satisfactory than the one which has hitherto existed under the old scheme—there were three Government nominees upon the Sanitary Board, and one of them was the Government Commissioner who had the power to veto any contract involving the expenditure of more than £150. A knowledge of Dutch was essential to candidature. So far the Public Works of the town have had to be constructed out of the current rates, aided by small loans authorised

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

by the Government, and a small grant occasionally made by the Government, amounting only to a fraction of the revenue received by way of ground rents, &c., from the town itself.

The law as to trial by jury is most unsatisfactory to the Uitlanders—only burghers or so-called naturalised persons are allowed to sit upon juries; the result is obvious.

No adequate provision has been made for police protection. Only burghers or naturalised persons are admitted to the police force, and glaring crimes have frequently been committed in the community, the criminals escaping detection. Two or three years ago there was a great popular agitation upon this subject owing to a number of murders having been committed, and the escape of the murderers. A great public meeting was held, and a deputation was sent to the Government representing the facts, and urging the necessity for an increase of the police force, and for the relaxation of the rule concerning the admission of others than burghers as policemen. The President sent back a message promising to grant relief, but the force has not been reformed, and crime at the present moment is more rampant than ever, criminals being emboldened by impunity.

Upon the subject of Concessions I beg to refer to a document signed by me in December, 1895, which is published in Blue Book C 7933 of 1896. I adhere to every word therein contained, both on this subject and other matters.

I now pass on to the question of Railways. Concessions have been granted by the Volksraad which have placed the State in the position of having this most important branch of the Public Works in the hands of foreigners, with the power to levy toll to an outrageous extent on the commercial and travelling public, and even to influence the external relations of the country. Crafty clauses wrapped up in the Dutch of the Hague, backed up by plausible arguments, were accepted by the Legislature, with the result that the country must continue groaning under the oppression of the Netherlands Railway Company, or pay an extravagantly high sum for expropriation of the railway. It is capable of proof that the cost of construction which must ultimately be borne by the State

has in some instances been extravagantly high. There has practically been no check upon the Railway Company in this respect. There is a series of articles on the Netherlands Railway, published in the *Critic* at the end of 1895 and beginning of 1896, written by Mr. Loveday, which will throw a glaring light on the abuses rampant. Mr. Loveday is a member of the Volksraad, who has had exceptional opportunities of getting at the truth. The whole administration of the Railway system constitutes a great public grievance. The charges made are in many instances extortionate. For instance, the Netherlands Company charge 3*d.* per ton per mile for the carriage of coal, the Cape Railway charge 1*d.* per mile. The Cape Railways carry a sheep for 500 miles for 2*s.*, the Netherlands Railway Company exact 1*s.* 6*d.* for carrying a sheep for a distance of 45 miles and so on. Enormous profits are made by the Company, and its Managing Director admitted some time ago that a short section of 40 miles laid down on the goldfields for the carriage of coal to the different mines was paying the interest on the cost of the construction of the whole line of railway to Delagoa Bay, a length of hundreds of miles. This overcharge is aggravated by the fact that the supply of rolling stock and the administration of the Railway have been so defective that the mining companies have on several occasions been reduced almost to despair owing to the impossibility of obtaining sufficient and regular supplies of coal. Business men have clamoured that not only are the railway charges excessive, but there has always been a wilful obstruction in the forwarding of goods, while they have been constantly subjected to loss owing to the damage or destruction or loss of goods for which they could get little or no remedy. In a community entirely English, all documents relating to railway business had to be made out in Dutch by the merchants, while complaints have frequently been made concerning the carelessness and even insolence of railway officials. Moreover the administration is practically so contrived, I am informed, as in many instances to give a preference in a matter of speedy delivery in the transport of goods to foreigners, and while railway rates are nominally the same to everybody, I am assured that in some cases

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

foreign goods are accepted for transit at a less declared weight for the same article than British goods are permitted to enjoy. For instance, cement which is sold throughout South Africa at the standard weight of 400 lbs., and is invariably charged for 400 lbs. transit to British traders, is allowed to be passed for foreign traders at various rates showing a difference in their favour. British traders' goods are sometimes delayed for long periods, while certain favoured firms can secure rapid and early transit. Again, the Netherlands Railway Company are very large importers of material. They steadily refuse to entertain a British tender, and all their trade goes to the Continent. The Company is also in a position to divert trade from the British Colonies to Delagoa Bay, and it takes advantage of these circumstances.

The Uitlander population, backed by a considerable body of the burghers, have constantly urged the Government to expropriate the railways. By this means there would be some chance of getting redress; the revenues would at all events belong to the State, and the enormous influence of the Hollanders over the business and interests of the country would be vastly reduced. Up to the present, however, the Government has refused to entertain the idea of expropriation, and the same abuses still continue. The ultimate cost of the expropriation which must some day be effected is in the meantime being steadily increased, inasmuch as the profits of the Company are constantly becoming larger, and as the amount ultimately to be paid to the State will have to be reckoned upon the dividends paid by the Company, it is to the manifest interest of the Company to make unduly heavy charges.

Reference has been made to the preferential treatment accorded to foreigners in the Transvaal, and the desire to suppress British interests as far as possible. In this connection I should like to add one or two facts.

The dynamite concessionaires are required to build a factory in terms of their concession. No material for this work which can be procured elsewhere of a suitable kind and quality is purchased in Great Britain.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

In 1895 a Government notice was issued in the *Staats Courant* calling for tenders for certain electric plant in some Government buildings. The notice stated openly that only Continental manufactures would be used, and added that certain firms in Germany whose names were given would have the preference in any case.

The following I have from an English firm:—The firm of Reiner & Van Laer (Germans) secured a tender for the supply of 8400 deals to the Robinson Company, to be used for the erection of certain buildings. An English firm secured the tender for the supply of galvanised iron screws and other materials for the same buildings.

The Customs Law imposes an *ad valorem* duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., but permits mining machinery to be imported at an *ad valorem* duty of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The German firm were allowed to pass the deals as machinery. The English firm was compelled to pay the full duty upon the material supplied by them. Representations were repeatedly made by the Chamber of Commerce to the Government, but no redress was granted. All other dealers in timber had been compelled to pay the full duty.

Additional evidence of this description might probably be obtained from the Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg. A very important feature of the situation is that the Government has granted to the Netherlands Railway Company the right to collect and pass into its general revenue all the Customs duties on goods imported *viâ* Delagoa Bay (not at any other port of entry), and this accounts largely for the attempts to divert trade from the British ports to Delagoa Bay.

I wish now to make some statement concerning the general laxity which prevails in the administration of the Government, and which deprives it of all public respect, making it possible for anything in the shape of irregularity or worse to occur at any time. The first instance of this sort of thing that happened to which I shall refer relates to the Selati Railway concession. In 1890 the Volksraad decided to build a line called the 'Selati Railway,' and resolved that as members desired to consult their

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

constituents on the matter, the Government should be instructed to publish for general information a few months before the ensuing session the draft application received from certain applicants for the building of the line, and the draft contract already agreed upon between the Government and such applicants. Immediately after the session there was published in the *Staats Courant* a draft concession in favour of one Vorster, then a member of the First Raad, and one Stephenson, an illiterate carpenter. At the ensuing session of the Raad the draft concession was referred to a Committee for revision and report, and was subsequently confirmed.

It afterwards became known that during the recess Vorster had imported a number of carriages, and presented them to different members of the Raad. This matter was discussed at the Volksraad, and the President defended Vorster's action, saying that he saw no harm in members receiving such presents.

In its issue of 5th December, 1893, the newspaper *Land en Volk* charges A. D. W. Wolmarans, a member of the Volksraad, with having been induced to vote for this concession by the gift of a gold watch of the value of £75; it calls Wolmarans a liar and a dishonour to his country, and challenges him to a public contest. No legal proceedings have been taken. In the same article Vorster is practically called a thief, and in the same paper he is charged with corruption. Vorster was then seeking re-election, and *Land en Volk* pledged itself that he should not get re-elected until he answered the Volksraad charges made against him. Vorster has brought no action, and was until recently a member of the Volksraad. The Selati Railway Concession was afterwards inquired into by a Commission of the Volksraad, when the following points were brought out:—

The Government guaranteed the principal of both the share and debenture issue of the Company formed to construct the line, and interest thereon at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum. The Share Capital is £500,000. The Debentures amount nominally to £1,500,000. The first issue of Debentures was £500,000, but the Company only

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

received £350,000, for by the contract the concessionaires were permitted to account for the Debentures at £70, whereas they issued them at £77, thus pocketing the difference of £75,000. The second issue of £1,000,000 nominal was placed at £93½ (at a time when the previous issue stood at £97 in the market) and the Company were only credited with £86 on each Debenture, the concessionaires netting the difference.

It was found, on examining the accounts, that £10,000 had been paid to Vorster and Stephenson for getting the concession, and a sum of £32,881 appeared as cost of flotation. The only explanation the Committee could get of this last amount was that one person had £6000 for study and travelling expenses, and another £2000. The balance was not accounted for.

The concession provided that the line should be built for £9600 per mile, or as much less as the construction might cost. The railway company, apparently without calling for tenders, entered into an agreement with one Warnant (said to be the solicitor to the Company) to build and equip the line for £9600 per mile, the maximum sum allowed by the concession. Immediately afterwards Warnant sublet the contract to a responsible firm of railway contractors, Westwood & Winby, for £7002 per mile. The Company—and consequently the Government, who are responsible for principal and interest—were thus defrauded of a sum of £2598 per mile on a length of about two hundred miles.

Mr. Jeppe, a member of the Committee, explained to the Raad that after the contract with Warnant was concluded the Directorate had practically found themselves penniless, having made no provision for the cost of administration during the construction of the line. Warnant was applied to for the necessary funds and refused them, but he agreed to advance the Company £100,000 on condition that the Directors would assist in concealing the nature of the transaction.

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

The line is not yet completed, and meanwhile the Government is liable for 4 per cent. interest on £2,000,000, or £80,000 per annum.

As an instance of the incapacity of Government officials it may be noted that the contractors, to avoid the fly and fever belt, proposed a deviation at a certain part of the line, and their plans were submitted to and confirmed by the Railway Commissioner, Mr. J. S. Smit (a gentleman in receipt of a salary of £1000 a year). After 25 kilometres of this deviation had been completed, Mr. Smit stopped the construction and ordered the line to be taken up and constructed as originally proposed, as he had approved the plans in ignorance.

Another Case.—J. S. Smit, the Landdrost of Pretoria, charges the public funds with a sum of about £83,000 alleged to have been expended in constructing and repairing certain streets in Pretoria. A question arose as to the expenditure, and a Committee of the Volksraad was appointed to inquire into it. The Committee reported that, notwithstanding their repeated request, they could only obtain vouchers for about £49,000 of the sum said to have been expended. The matter was left at this stage, as the Volksraad was about to be prorogued. Next session it was again mentioned in the Volksraad, and on the proposal of John Meyer (a bosom friend and great supporter of the President), it was resolved that the question should be considered as closed. Nothing further has been heard of this case.

Again, a couple of years ago an amount appeared on the estimates, amounting to several thousands of pounds, as the cost of a Commission on which Mr. Wolmarans, a member of the Government, was engaged. No such Commission had been authorised by the Volksraad, nor was any report of any such Commission produced, and when one of the Progressive members of the Volksraad insisted upon an explanation and upon production at least of the Commissioners' labours, the President angrily refused the request, and, so far as I know, the matter has not been cleared up to this day.

Here is a Case affecting the Public Service.—N. J. Smit, who is

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

a son of General Smit (a member of the Government at the time), was the Mining Commissioner at Krugersdorp. Going on leave for a week, he asked one Biccard to act for him and take over the official funds. Biccard on doing so found among the cash Smit's cheque for £150. He presented the cheque for payment, and it was dishonoured. Smit remained away for some months without leave, and then returned. In the meantime he had been charged both by *Land en Volk* and by an English newspaper with theft. On his return he was fined by the Government £25 for being absent without leave, and was reinstated into the Service. No notice was taken of the charge that had been made against him. *Land en Volk* has repeatedly charged him with this theft, and termed him the 'unpunished thief,' but he has never brought any action, and is now the Mining Commissioner of Klerksdorp.

The Stiemens Case.—One H. Stiemens applied to the Government for a pension, which was refused. Thereupon his son, W. J. Stiemens (then Acting Minister of Mines) and his son-in-law R. G. Ockerse ('Responsible Clerk' in the Johannesburg Office of the Mining Commissioner), persuaded him to apply to the Government for a Lease of a certain piece of land, there being a verbal agreement that the three should divide the proceeds of the land in consideration of the two officials promoting the application. Stiemens, as an officer in an official capacity, recommended the grant, and after some delay the Lease was given. It was afterwards sold, and realised between £2000 and £3000. H. Stiemens died, and another son-in-law, Zeiler, then claimed that he was a party to the contract for dividing the spoils, and applied to the Court to declare him entitled to one-fourth of the proceeds of the land. W. J. Stiemens and Ockerse both admitted in the witness-box that they had made the compact, but denied that Zeiler was a party to it, and said that they, in fear of the consequences, had foregone their claim. During the hearing of the case the Landdrost of Pretoria, C. E. Schutte, admitted in the witness-box that he had received £300 for 'furthering' the application.

The Government has never taken any steps against those officials, who still remain at their posts.

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

(See Report of trial in *Pretoria Press* of 9th November, 1895 ; leader in *Transvaal Advertiser*, 8th November, 1895 ; report and leader in *Land en Volk* of 14th November, 1895 ; and article—reproducing one from a Natal paper—of 28th November, 1895.)

The Stand Scandal.—In 1893 a sale of Stands or building plots in Johannesburg took place under circumstances which gave rise to much dissatisfaction, and led to the appointment of a Committee of the Volksraad to investigate facts. The report of the Committee is given at page 394 of the Minutes of the Volksraad for 1893. It was found that three-fourths of the stands had been awarded to officials or members of the Volksraad ; that this was contrary to the law, as some at least of the officials were not resident at Johannesburg ; that the issue of the stands had been so manipulated as virtually to exclude the general public from the chance of application or competition ; that stands had been sold to various individuals privately ; that the prices that were given were far below current market value ; and that the revenue had suffered to the extent of £30,000 by the transaction. The report concluded with the statement that the Committee made no recommendation or comment, as their functions were restricted to ascertaining the facts.

A debate on the report took place in the Volksraad, in the course of which the President declared that in a country where there was no pension system officials should not be debarred from making a little profit, save, of course, the men who were actually charged with the issue of the stands ; and a resolution was finally passed by the Volksraad thanking the Committee for its labours and for putting the Raad in a position to declare that no irregularity had taken place and that there was no 'Stands Scandal'—although the evidence and report revealed the gravest abuses.

In the following year a petition was presented praying the Volksraad to dismiss all the officials concerned in the 'Stands Scandal,' but the Volksraad refused to entertain it. The President not only made the startling proposition that an official should be allowed to make money by speculating with public property, but he actually stated to the Volksraad, in the course

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

of a debate, that the stands might have been granted to the public under the Gold Law without payment, and that, therefore, the revenue had actually profited to the extent of the amount received, ignoring the fact that the Government was entitled to sell the stands and might have sold them by public auction for £30,000 more than had been received—this excess having gone into the pockets of the officials who had manipulated the transaction.

The next case concerns the President himself.

Shortly after President Kruger had gone to Colesburg, in the Cape Colony, to meet Sir Henry Loch in conference, the newspaper *Land en Volk* made a statement to the effect that the President had taken payment of a sum of money for travelling expenses calculated upon the usual travelling allowance of so much per diem, as if he had travelled from Pretoria to Colesburg by cart. As a matter of fact he had travelled by railway, and at all events paid nothing for his fare.

The President prosecuted Mr. Marais, the Editor of the newspaper, criminally for libel. Marais defended the action. The President did not give evidence. Marais led evidence, which, speaking from memory, showed that the vouchers for the payment, and a cheque for the amount in favour of Mr. Kruger, were all prepared in the Treasury Offices, though the money had not actually been handed over to the President. It was alleged that the President knew nothing about this, though he did not go into the witness-box to prove it.

The Landdrost acquitted Marais.

Afterwards in a leading article in *Land en Volk* of 3rd October, 1895, the following passage occurs:—

‘His Honour says that when a newspaper points out to him where he is wrong, then he rectifies what is wrong. Again His Honour has forgotten. *Land en Volk* once accused him of having taken money out of the Treasury on false accounts. His Honour felt himself so deeply injured that he caused the Editor of *Land en Volk* to be arrested and prosecuted criminally. And what was the result? His own Landdrost (and former member of his election

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

committee) gave judgment that what *Land en Volk* had written was the truth. There could thus have been no doubt that a newspaper had shown His Honour where he had acted wrongly, and did he then make everything right? Oh, no. His Honour has to this day not paid that money back. Now when a man takes money that is not due to him there may possibly be an explanation, but when a man keeps money that is not due to him, knowing that he had obtained that money in an illegal manner, there is only one name for the offence, and that name is applicable in the case of the President and the false accounts.

The Wire Case (a couple of years ago).

J. W. Koch, formerly Landdrost of Potchefstroom, was appointed a member of the Executive. *Land en Volk* charged him publicly with having stolen a large quantity of Government wire and used it to fence his farm. The charge was repeatedly made in this paper, until eventually the Government, being forced to take some action, sent a special Commissioner (De Beer) to inquire. There was evidence that wire had been taken, but the State Attorney considered it insufficient to send to a jury. It appeared that a Mr. Thom (a Hollander who had succeeded Koch as Landdrost of Potchefstroom) and an official named Debs, had appropriated Government wire. Instead of punishing these men the Government accepted cheques which they tendered after the exposure for the amount of the wire taken, and they are still in office.

Koch threatened to sue *Land en Volk* for libel. *Land en Volk* stood its ground and complained bitterly of the method of investigation that had been followed. Koch has never taken proceedings, and remains a member of the Government.

Cases in which F. Eloff is concerned.—He is the son-in-law of President Kruger, and was his private secretary.

(a) Some five years ago Eloff obtained a concession for the sole right to bring water from certain springs on the Vaal

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

River to Johannesburg ; the concession was to lapse unless carried out within two years. Nothing was done under it for three years, when Barnato, who was then interested in the scheme for constructing waterworks at Johannesburg, heard of the concession, and approached Eloff on the subject. On examining the concession he found that, for the reason given above, it had lapsed. Eloff undertook to get it revived, and transferred it to Barnato for £2000 cash and £18,000 to be paid in the event of the work being carried out. The Executive Council, with this contract before them, revived the concession and sanctioned the transfer to Barnato.

- (b) Six or eight years ago the Government proclaimed all Government lands in Klerksdorp open to prospectors. Within the last three years thousands of claims have been pegged out and the licenses paid. On the face of the licenses there was nothing to show whether they were prospectors' or diggers' licenses, each being renewed monthly, but the difference being that the former are only renewable for six months, while the latter are renewable indefinitely. As far more than six months had elapsed these licenses were treated on all hands as diggers' licenses. They were transferred for valuable consideration ; the transfers were registered in the Government books, and transfer duty paid. Suddenly the Government refused to grant further licenses (*i.e.*, to renew the licenses already existing), and thus the titles of the holders were confiscated. The land was then granted to the Dutch Reformed Church, and almost immediately afterwards sold by it to F. Eloff.
- (c) Braamfontein is a farm on Government land adjoining Johannesburg. About 1887 or 1888 this land was proclaimed a goldfield. Subsequently a Proclamation was issued declaring it no longer open as a goldfield (there are no gold-bearing reefs on it), and thereafter a portion was acquired for a sporting club, and another portion for an Agricultural Society. On the latter some £10,000 was

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

spent in buildings, &c., the money being contributed in equal shares by the Government and the Uitlanders. Subsequently the Mining Commissioner discovered some flaw in the Proclamation closing the ground, and wrote confidentially to Pretoria, pointing out the flaw and urging the Executive to take immediate steps to remedy the defect and secure the titles of the existing occupants. Within a few days of his letter, Eloff came over from Pretoria, pegged out the whole of the ground, and claimed, under the original Proclamation, to be the first occupant. The Mining Commissioner protested strongly, and Eloff went to the High Court to get a declaration that he was entitled to the land. I do not remember the result.

The class of things above described has not ceased, but during the last twelve months the following things have happened:—

- (a) A public square in Johannesburg which the Sanitary Board thought was vested in it, in trust for the public, has been granted to a Syndicate which includes several persons very near to the President's person, and this Syndicate will undoubtedly make an enormous profit out of the transaction.
- (b) There have been two cases in which prominent officials in Johannesburg have obtained grants of Government land in or near Johannesburg, under circumstances which require explanation.
- (c) An attack was made upon the titles of a large number of companies. These titles represented a value of millions. Colonel Ferreira and others were arrested and prosecuted before a judge and jury for contravening a section of the gold law which makes it criminal for persons to peg off the property of other people indicated by beacons. This proceeding caused great uneasiness on the London Stock Exchange. The result of the trial has just been made known: the accused have been acquitted upon the ground that they acted upon information given to them by the Minister of Mines.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Among minor officials there have, as was inevitable, been the gravest abuses.

Take another case :—A Mr. Koch was Magistrate of the district of Christiana, and as such Head of the local police. The newspaper called *Land en Volk* charged Koch with being unfit to be a magistrate and head of a district, alleging that he had sent a mounted policeman on a long patrol, and in his absence had been guilty of improper conduct with the policeman's wife. The burghers' sentiment was aroused by this statement and Koch was called upon to clear his character. He instituted an action against the editor, who pleaded justification and was victorious, though Koch denied the charge on oath. Koch was thereupon very properly dismissed from the Government service. Indeed, the Government would not have been able at that time to have avoided this dismissal because the moral sense of the Dutch community had been shocked. This happened three or four years ago.

Last year Mr. Koch was again admitted to the Government service in a new office created at Johannesburg, namely that of Issuer of Passes, and he is now in receipt of a salary of £700 a year. Mr. Koch is brother of J. H. Koch, a member of Mr. Kruger's Government. Men who dare to call attention to things of this sort are labelled with a stereotyped title of 'rebels,' and are charged with seeking to undermine the 'independence of the country.'

Upon the subject of native affairs I adhere to what I put forth in the statement issued by me in December, 1895, to which I have already referred :—

Native labour costs the Mining Companies an average of £3 per month, besides food; and when it is considered that this labour is absolutely unskilled, and that most of the natives have to be taught upon their arrival on the mines the use of a pick and shovel, it will be seen how heavy the drain on the mining industry is. Nothing effective has been done by the Government to facilitate the draft of native labourers from the distant districts in the Republic to the mines. A state of things even existed which frightened labourers from coming to the mines, as many

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

were robbed of their earnings when they returned after a period of service to their kraals. The native has not much chance of sympathy from the Government, and he knows it well. He is fined heavily or flogged on very little provocation, and generally the authorities are down on him. It is a fundamental principle of the constitution that there is no equality in Church or State between whites and blacks, and the native is not permitted to contract marriage according to Christian rites. He may not hold land, and must live in locations set apart for him by the Government. What the attitude of the Government is as between the Boer and the native is shown unmistakably by the President in the case of *Rachman v. Meyer*, and *April v. Prinsloo*. In the case of *Rachman*, an Indian of high caste who was flogged by a Field-Cornet unmercifully for the trivial offence of searching for a lost horse on the property of the Field-Cornet's brother, *Rachman* brought an action against *Meyer* before Judge *Jorrisen*, who was one of the Hollander Judges on the Bench, and Judge *Jorrisen* awarded either £50 or £75 damages, and ordered *Meyer* to pay the costs of the action. The Government paid the costs out of the public funds.

In *April's* case a native in the Supreme Court obtained judgment against a Field-Cornet for damages and costs for brutal ill-treatment. The Bench commented most strongly upon the conduct of the defendant. President *Kruger* paid the costs and damages out of the public funds, saying that, notwithstanding what the Court had said, he deemed that the defendant had acted properly. There can be no question that the natives have been treated badly by subordinate officials of the Government, and I have myself seen affidavits which show systematic ill-treatment and oppression by a certain native official in the North, and I know that the Government did everything in its power to shield the official in question, and to baffle inquiry. Before the Higher Courts the native could obtain justice, but it is rarely that he could afford to seek the remedy, even if he knew how to set about it. Difficulties have been placed in the way of natives coming from across the border, and the Railway Companies have

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

obstructed them in the matter of conveying them to the mines. Without labouring the point, I may say that generally the Government has not assisted the mining industry in the matter of native labour, nor has its policy been conducive to the native becoming a steady labourer.

I may add here that owing to various influences the sale of liquor to natives employed on the mines has been allowed practically without restriction, at all events up to a very recent date, to the great detriment of the mining industry, and the disturbance of public order. Great laxity in the matter of granting licenses and an utter absence of efficient police control enabled natives to obtain as much alcohol as they pleased. The result was that at times many places were turned into a pandemonium owing to fights; riots and murders and various disorders were frequent, while the companies were heavy losers in the matter of labour for which they were paying. The evil was so great that it has been stated by responsible managers of companies that they were losing two-sevenths of the labour for which they paid.

In justice to the Government it must be added that it is reported that stringent measures have now been taken for the prohibition of the sale of drinks to natives. It remains to be seen how these measures will be administered.

Before concluding, I wish to add a few remarks on the subject of recent legislation concerning aliens under the liberty of the Press, in order to remove the impression which exists that these new laws are the result of disturbances last year. As a fact, the Volksraad endeavoured to curtail the freedom of the Press by an Act passed in 1894, and its intention was only defeated by a decision of the High Court, which declared that owing to bad draughtsmanship the most obnoxious clause in the Act was inoperative. The Aliens' Expulsion Law originated thus:—In 1894 the *Volksstem* (the Hollander organ I have mentioned) published a draft Act, in which it suggests it should be passed in terms and spirit almost identical with the Act now on the statute-book. In 1895, petitions, principally from the district of Rustenburg, which is the President's own district, were presented to the

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

Volksraad praying that the laws relating to sedition might be made more stringent. These petitions were, as is usual, referred to a Memorial Committee who reported against the prayer, saying that the existing laws were stringent enough. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Wolmarans urged the granting of the prayer, stating openly that what was wanted was to vest in the Government the power, without reference to the Courts, to put men over the border. A motion confirming the necessity for such a law was accordingly passed by a majority in the middle of 1895, and the Government was instructed to bring up a Bill, as it did in 1896.

In 1894 a law had been passed curtailing the right of public meeting, and notices were stuck up in the Public Offices in Johannesburg directing the attention of the public in general, and of Johannesburg in particular, in block letters, to the provisions of the Act.

The Immigration Law, passed in 1896, was discussed in the session of 1895, and, under the pretext of stopping pauper immigration, a law is now in force compelling Englishmen to carry passes, like Natives. It is difficult to over-estimate the possible consequences of this Act. It is calculated absolutely to destroy the prestige of Englishmen in the minds of the Natives, and this may lead to very grave results.

I have endeavoured in the above statement, although it is somewhat prolix, to state as briefly as I could the condition in which the Uitlanders found themselves in 1895. They constituted the majority of the inhabitants of the State in mere point of numbers, a majority which was constantly increasing. They represented almost all the intelligence, the education, the wealth, and the industry of the State, and were possessed of by far the greater and more valuable part of the property in the country, and carried on almost exclusively the business of commerce and mining. They were dominated by a small and selfish clique of Boers, who in their turn were under the influence of Hollanders and foreign corporations not only bitterly hostile to England and all things English, but manifestly imbued with the desire to make the position of the alien more and more intolerable.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The Hollanders were in control of all the important offices of the State, and of its railways, and were thus in a position to hamper trade and burden the industry of the Uitlanders at every turn, while the Boer population were too timorous, or too ignorant, or too indolent to interfere, and apparently callous to what was going on, so long as their own pockets and their own interests were not touched. The methods of legislation and administration were such that no one could tell when worse would happen. The Uitlanders were burdened by oppressive taxation far beyond the legitimate needs of the State, while they had to look on helplessly at the scandalous waste of public moneys. At every turn they were oppressed by concessions, slighted and scorned when they attempted to obtain the commonest redress in such matters as education and police protection. They looked with alarm at the insecurity of the administration of justice, and at the constant attacks which were made upon the original constitution of the country. They saw that it was the fixed intention of the Executive and of the Hollanders, in whose hands all power was really becoming concentrated, to persevere in the policy of suppressing everything that was consonant to British ideas of liberty and justice, and of substituting Continental methods and principles at every turn. Their chief industries were at the mercy of the unsympathetic Boers that ruled the State, and they had no voice, and no hope of getting a voice, in the management of their own affairs or the protection of their vital interests. They were weary of attempting to obtain reform by constitutional methods, and found that the only answer on the part of the Government and the Legislature to their appeals for justice was to spend more and more of the taxes wrung from them in the purchase of arms with which to overawe them, and the open statement that if they wanted their rights they would have to fight for them. The thousands of people who had come to the country to stay and who were suffering under these grievances saw no hope of improvement, no chance of redress, but lived rather in the constant fear that worse still would befall them. The Uitlanders were stung into revolt, and

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

when Johannesburg rose, the movement was an honest popular movement, brought about by the causes I have described. It is true that the movement may have been hastened by the assistance of capitalists, but to say that it was provoked or manufactured by capitalists is wholly to misrepresent the truth. The capitalists themselves only joined what had all along been the popular cause when they were convinced that force was the only remedy for a condition of affairs which had become intolerable. If proof were needed of the genuineness of the public feeling and the depth of the resentment entertained against the Government, it is to be found in the enthusiasm with which the whole populace of Johannesburg and its suburbs rallied to the standard of Reform when the disturbances broke out.

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT.

THE HOLDING OF LAND.

I WISH to make an additional statement in regard to the holding of land in the Transvaal. The statement that the Uitlanders hold half the land in the Transvaal has been commonly accepted as correct, but there has hitherto been no means of getting at the absolute facts. Since my statement was in print I have had an opportunity of seeing a summary of what purports to be an official report showing how the land is held in the Transvaal. The report is framed by the Registrar of Deeds, and shows as follows:—

Farms held by Burghers	...	...	...	...	5575
„ „ Non-resident Uitlanders	...	...	...	...	664
„ „ Resident Uitlanders	...	...	...	...	527
„ „ Companies registered in the	...	...	...	...	
Transvaal	...	...	...	...	758
„ „ Foreign registered Companies	...	...	...	...	1087
				—	3036

He also states that there are about 3546 farms surveyed and unsurveyed belonging to the Government. In addition to these I believe that I am correct in stating that there are large areas of State land still unsurveyed, but all the land which belongs to the Government, whether surveyed or unsurveyed, falls out of the category of land held under title by individuals. If these figures are accepted as correct, it is shown that the burghers hold 5575, while the Uitlanders hold 3036, or a little less than three-eighths of the total area held under grant.

But I am informed on excellent authority that this report

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

cannot be accepted as correct, and that it is undoubted that the Uitlanders do hold at least half of the registered titles to land in the country. My informant had a glance at the lists made out, and pointed out at once that it was altogether misleading to include among the farms held by 'burghers' land held by men who, although on the Field-Cornets' lists, were Uitlanders, as they had no vote. One example: A firm in Pretoria who have no vote, who are Uitlanders, but whose names are on the Field-Cornets' lists—as, indeed, mine is—are included on the list of burghers holding land. This firm owns a very large amount of land, probably 200 farms. I know of other names of men whose names are on the lists, but who have long since left the country and cannot be called 'burghers,' whose property—probably twenty farms each—are included in the burghers' holding.

The report was unquestionably framed to meet the serious argument based on the holding of land.

The Registrar of Deeds *estimates* that the land held by the burghers is worth about £3,492,477, but he is able to state that the consideration *paid* for the farms held by the Uitlanders is £6,112,718, or, in other words, assuming that his estimate of the cost of the burghers' farms is correct, and it is certainly not likely to be under-estimated, the Uitlanders' land has cost them nearly double what the burghers' land has cost, or, in other words, the total value of land is somewhat over £9,000,000, and two-thirds of that sum represents the Uitlanders' land.

In addition to the land actually registered in the names of Uitlanders, they hold a very large number of mineral contracts, with rights of purchase, &c., in respect of farms registered in the names of burghers.

Our contention, of course, is that land held by Government is held in trust for the whole population. We do not accept the definition that the State consists only of the enfranchised burghers.

I may add that, without attempting to cast discredit upon the Registrar of Deeds, there is room to doubt whether his estimate of the value of the burghers' land is accurate. Practically all the

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

land has been acquired by the burghers by free grant from the State, so that subsequent sales only have to be taken into consideration. A great proportion of the land has changed hands from time to time for a mere song, and it is only within the last ten or twelve years that any considerable prices have been paid for the land, and the big prices have generally been paid by the Uitlander. Three and a half millions is a big estimate as the cost of the land of burghers, who were up to a comparatively recent time in a very impoverished condition.

I wish also to add, generally, that while the figures I have given in my statement are substantially accurate, I do not wish to convey the idea that they are in all cases absolutely accurate, which is, in the nature of things, impossible.

CLASS TAXATION.

Act No. 5 of 1891 provides that a stamp of one penny for each £10 or portion of £10 shall be affixed to all receipts and all unilateral documents in writing issued by anybody who makes his calling the carrying on of trade or business. The creditor is liable for the stamp, and a penalty of £5 is imposed for non-compliance with the Act, or, in default of payment of a fine, imprisonment not exceeding fourteen days.

Law No. 24 of 1896 provides as follows:—

- ‘1. A war tax of one pound (£1) per 100 morgen, or portion thereof, on each farm or piece of ground, and of £5 on each erf or half erf, or portion of an erf larger than one-half, and of £2 10s. upon a portion of an erf smaller than one-half, shall in case of war or commando be leviable when the property stands registered in the name of (a) a person resident out of the Republic, or (b) of a company or syndicate (companies or syndicates consisting only of burghers on service are excluded), or (c) of a person in trust for or as trustee of one of the categories mentioned in sub-sections (a) and (b).’

As 2509 farms are registered in the names of companies and non-resident Uitlanders, this gives the Government power to levy

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

a very heavy tax, which does not fall on the Boers, as they do not join companies or syndicates.

By Regulation approved by Government and published in the *Gazette* of 24th May, 1893, Government Notices 11 and 140 of 1893, and Government Notice No. 333 of 1893, a special poll tax of 10s. from every male resident on the Witwatersrand, Boksburg, and Krugersdorp Diggings is imposed for the repression of small-pox. When stress falls upon the Boers they are helped out of the public funds; when stress falls upon the digging population, although the whole of the revenue practically is contributed by them, they have to bear special taxation to defray the expense of coping with such things as small-pox, &c.

REMISSION OF TAXES ON BURGHERS.

By First Volksraad resolution dated 27th June, 1892 (Local Laws, page 613), the Government is authorised to make inquiry through the Field-Cornets in the various districts as to the ability of people to pay their poll taxes, with the object of acquitting poor persons who were in arrear either wholly or in part of the debt. The sum in arrear represented the poll tax due by about ten per cent. of the burgher population.

TAXATION AND OBEDIENCE TO AUTHORITY.

On the subject of the impatience of control and taxation, nothing could more strongly illustrate the rooted aversion of the burgher population to taxation than the attitude they took up when the Volksraad imposed a small toll in the Republic. They refused to pay the tax. In many instances they petitioned against it; and generally they made such a stir about it that eventually the tax was removed, being for a considerable time, I believe, enforced only round the outskirts of Johannesburg, where it was positively oppressive, as a man could not go about his business in the outskirts of the town, or take his wife for a drive, or go to a racecourse, without having to pay this toll.

As showing the attitude of the Boer towards constituted authority, I may draw attention to the following. There has for

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

years been a dispute between two sections of the Dutch Church in the South African Republic. Some years ago these two sections agreed to unite, one section agreeing to be incorporated by the other, and to hand over all its property to that body. In 1893—I believe I am correct about the date—one of these factions brought an action to have it declared by the High Court that the union of the Churches and the handing over of the property by the plaintiffs in the suit to the defendants had not been legally effected. The High Court decided in favour of the plaintiff, and ordered the restitution of the Church property to the plaintiff faction. This question stirred the whole Dutch population to its core. A public meeting was held at Rustenburg, and the most violent language was used by speakers advocating resistance to the order of the High Court. No less than three resolutions were put to the meeting, the practical effect of which would have been to commit the meeting, if they had been carried, to resistance to constituted authority. The danger was averted temporarily by a committee being formed to inquire further into the matter and to bring up a report, and I believe the danger was finally averted by the Government agreeing to grant one of the factions a sum of money out of the public purse. No word was ever said about these burghers being ‘unfaithful’ to the laws of the country. Compare this with the attitude of the Government and the Volksraad to the Uitlanders, who were charged with being ‘unfaithful’ because they exercised the only right they had—that of respectful petition.

ARBITRARY ACTION OF VOLKSRAAD.

As an instance of the extraordinary attitude taken up by the Volksraad when criticism of its acts was published, I cite the following case. The Editor of *Land en Volk* published a statement which was thought to reflect on the members of the Volksraad, or some of them. The Volksraad, without any notice to Mr. Marais, solemnly debated the publication, and passed a resolution declaring that he had made himself guilty of a contravention of a certain section of the Press Law, and having declared him guilty they

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

instructed the State Attorney to prosecute him, which that official steadily refused to do, as he was of opinion that there had been no breach of the law.

DISREGARD OF CONSTITUTION.

Law 14 of 1893, which made the most vital changes in the franchise law and constitution, was introduced towards the end of the session of that year, without any publication beforehand as directed by the Grondwet, and it was published for the first time in the *Gazette* of 27th September, 1893, on which day it came into force. The Volksraad on the 8th September, 1893, passed the following resolution (Local Laws, page 371): ‘Article 1341. The First Volksraad, considering the Commission’s report dated the 6th inst., with the memorials in connection therewith at present under discussion, considering the short time still remaining to this Raad, resolves to put provisionally into force the electoral law elucidated and amended by the Commission and the Government until the Raad has in its ensuing session determined further hereon, with this understanding that all elections which may be held in the South African Republic shall take place according to the provisions of this amended law, and the Raad further decides to give notice hereof to the first signatories of the different memorials.’

I may add that it is in the power of the Government to admit persons to the franchise without their having complied with the conditions laid down for the general public, a power which has been exercised recently to admit about 800 people, principally Hollanders and Germans.

I am satisfied that many burghers of the South African Republic were wholly unaware of the vital changes which had been brought about without previous notification. I remember distinctly a Dutch Field-Cornet—a singularly intelligent man—absolutely denying my statement to him that such a law had been passed, and from my conversation with another member of the Volksraad I was satisfied that he did not understand the nature of the changes which had been brought about. Having juggled the

law on to the statute-book in 1893 in this manner, the Government in 1894 further amended the law, introducing vitally different principles operating against the Uitlander, and it was confirmed. It is necessary to state that whenever the Government wish to bring about any particular legislation, memorials asking for that legislation were promptly forthcoming, often only signed by a few dozen or a few hundred people. The will of the people as interpreted by the Government meant the expressed will of those people who asked what the Government itself wished for, and the most striking instances are on record of preference being given to the wishes expressed by a small number of burghers while the wishes of much larger numbers on the same subject were disregarded, who having no representation at all and no means of securing redress of grievances except by respectful petition to the Volksraad, were stigmatised as 'disloyal' and 'unfaithful to the laws,' because they dared to petition for the alteration of those laws. This was the burden of many speeches made on the franchise petition, the proposition being laid down that to petition for any change in the law was to prove yourself disloyal and unfaithful to the State. Upon the debate upon the monster petition in 1895, Mr. Lucas Meyer, a leader in the liberal party amongst the Boers, pleaded earnestly against the rejection of the petition, and proposed that the Volksraad should instruct the Government to publish a Bill for the amendment of the franchise laws, the central point of such Bill being that the Uitlander should be entitled, under given conditions, to be admitted to full citizenship after three years' residence. The President, in person, stoutly opposed this, and said that the people had over and over again expressed their will on the franchise question, notwithstanding the juggling I have above described; that they were weary of the subject, and that he would not consent to appeal to them for an expression of opinion on this important subject. In other words, having got his will expressed in statutes passed in disregard of constitutional principles, he was not going to risk alteration of those statutes by going to the country. The intention to exclude the Uitlander

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

was undisguised, and there was absolutely no hope of reform being brought about.

DISHONESTY AND LAXITY OF CONTROL.

Defalcations in the public service have been very frequent. I will cite two cases. A man named Linskey, the responsible clerk in the Mining Office in Johannesburg, robbed the country of thousands of pounds. He was eventually arrested, and the funds to his credit in the bank were attached. It was a very flagrant case, but he was permitted to have £500 out of the funds for the purpose of defence. The State Attorney neglected to prosecute him within the time prescribed by law, and he escaped justice. The comedy was completed by his threatening an action against the Government for damages.

Another case. A young man named Gie, employed in the Mining Commissioner's Office, robbed the office of many thousands of pounds. With extraordinary audacity he employed the money in the purchase of building lots, the titles of which were registered in the very office he was robbing. In the end it was discovered, and he committed suicide. He had only a small salary, and yet his acquisition of properties, worth many thousands, went unnoticed.

The check on public moneys was of the loosest character. Only recently a young man named Otto, son of a Volksraad member, was indicted for embezzlement of public funds. Two juries were dismissed, although the evidence was very clear, as they could not agree. On dismissing the second jury, the judge told them plainly that they had not discharged their duty in accordance with their oaths. A third jury was empanelled, and the man was found guilty.

Quite recently, a man named Maherry was indicted for trying to bribe two Government officials. He was found guilty, and on being asked if he had anything to say before sentence was passed, he commenced a statement to the effect that he had been advised by Stoffel Tosen, a member of the Volksraad, to approach the officials in question, and how to set about it. He proceeded to

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

add, that Tosen was to get £10,000 if the concession he was seeking had been secured, when the judge stopped the prisoner, and sentenced him to six months' imprisonment and £600 fine. Can it be wondered at that the public have lost all confidence in the administration and legislature of the country?

With reference to the main statement made by me on the subject of the attack upon the titles of the Companies, which is now known as the 'Ferreira Raid,' a raid which if successful, would have caused damage infinitely greater than the 'material, moral, and intellectual damage' claimed by the Transvaal, I wish to add that the evidence at the trial of Ferreira proved conclusively that five sons of the Minister of Mines were members of the Venture Syndicate which committed the raid. Comment is superfluous.

PRINCIPLES ON WHICH GOLD LAW IS BASED.

It is necessary in my view to have an idea of the leading principles of tenure and the rights of the Government to gold in the Transvaal. There is absolutely no reservation of mineral rights in any titles of land held in freehold in the Transvaal. The registered owner was the owner of everything in the soil. In 1885 the most extraordinary Act ever passed by a body of landowners was placed on the statute-book. The first clause is as follows:—'Hejt mijn- en beschikkingsrecht op alle edelgesteenten en edele metalen behoort aan den Staat.'

There has never been a judicial interpretation of this provision in the sense in which I am speaking. The interpretation I place upon it is, that it declares that the right of mining and administering mining for all precious stones and precious metals belongs to the State. The private registered owner of the land was, upon proclamation of his farm under this law, dispossessed of his control save as hereinafter stated, but the Government acquired no dominion in the soil, which remained vested in the registered owner. This is clear from the fact that if the land were freed from the operation of the Gold Law, all the owner's rights were revived in full force. The owner had reserved to

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

himself his homestead and cultivated lands, and had the right to acquire a mining lease over an area equal to 10 per cent. of the total area of the land. He also had a preferent right to peg off a certain number of claims, and the right to grant permission to others to peg off a certain number of preferent claims. With the exception of the areas so reserved, the farm became upon proclamation a public goldfield, upon which every man was entitled to peg off a claim. The Government granted him a license to do this, and he had the right also to acquire a stand for residence or business. The license moneys thus received were divided between the Government and the registered owner of the land. The principle is intelligible enough. The Government had to pay for the cost of maintaining order, and received a share of the licenses for this purpose. The owner was dispossessed of his land and received a share of the licenses in compensation.

This was the view of the law itself taken by the Government, as shown from the early administration. Gradually, however, the Government introduced principles into the Gold Law which went much further. A clause was introduced vesting the right to the surface of proclaimed lands in the Government; next claims, the title of which lapsed by non-payment of license moneys or abandonment, and which had always before become open peggable ground were by statute declared to revert to the Government and were to be sold by it; and here the first principle of selling mining rights was introduced. Gradually the idea has grown in the minds of the legislators that mines were an asset of the State available for sale. This culminated in 1894 and 1895 in the proposal to sell the right of minerals under *Bewaarplaatsen* water rights and townships, a proposal which was in 1896 adopted by the Raad. The action of the Government and the Legislature in regard to underground mining rights ever since 1892—action which can be described as vacillating between a desire to benefit unscrupulous adventurers and a desire to enrich the State, the mining companies in either case being the victims—was not calculated to produce a profound feeling of confidence in the administration. It is needless to point out the fallacy of the

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

statement that the Government is very magnanimous in granting the right to mine to individuals. The course of affairs was usually this: before proclamation as a public goldfield an individual or individuals secured from the owner the right to prospect for gold, with the contingent right to acquire the owner's rights to minerals. He always paid for the right to prospect, and the owner generally stipulated for a very large sum of money should the contingent right be exercised. When the land was proclaimed, those who had acquired the mineral rights either sold them to persons able to find the capital to equip a mine, or if able themselves to do so furnished the capital. Reef mining is very costly work, and the proper equipment of a mine requires very large capital. The Boers themselves and the Government neither could nor would have furnished this capital. They had not the knowledge nor the enterprise nor the money necessary to work mines.

The wealth of the country was therefore developed by the Uitlanders, the Government getting a very large share of revenue which would never have accrued otherwise. This briefly conveys some idea of the true position of things.

POLICY OF GOVERNMENT TOWARDS INDUSTRY.

As to the policy of the Government in later years, I am absolutely satisfied. The President when remonstrated with by one of his officials against a proposed act, is reported to have said—in answer to the official's statement that the act would kill the goose that laid the golden eggs—'We have got the eggs already; let us twist the neck of the goose.' At that time he had a surplus of about £200,000 in the Treasury, and a considerable number of companies at work which would be compelled to stick to their enterprises and furnish a considerable revenue.

At a later stage it was proposed to throw the townlands of Pretoria open to the public as a goldfield. The President resisted this most strenuously, and amongst other arguments said, almost tearfully, that it would result in the establishment of a second Johannesburg, and he would have difficulty in finding police to

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

keep them in order. Yet later in a debate upon a motion for the importation of diamond drills to prospect Government lands, the President opposed stoutly, and openly said—‘There is too much gold in the country already.’ I may point to the significance of the statement in Mr. Lippert’s memorandum, to the effect that the President was opposed to increasing the influence of the Mining Companies, as he saw in them his political opponents; and now it is said that the Government will place obstacles in the way of proclaiming any more private farms as public goldfields. Incidentally it may be pointed out, that very great loss will be occasioned if this policy should be carried out, because private individuals and syndicates hold hundreds of mineral contracts in regard to unproclaimed land for which they have paid large sums, having also spent a large amount of money in prospecting work. Full return can only come to these people if the lands being found payable were proclaimed. Can it be wondered at that men knowing these facts, and seeing how the cost of living and working is artificially raised by the Government, should fear the fruition of a policy clearly intended to cripple and restrict the mining industry?

HOSTILITY TO ENGLISH.

All through the policy of the Pretoria Government has been dictated by the clearest hostility to everything English, and by the endeavour to create foreign interests which should be used as a buffer between England and the Republic.

The Netherlands Railway Company is a striking illustration of this, as is also the Dynamite Concession.

Carrying out this policy, the President brought about the grant of a concession to a German for a National Bank. Prior to that date ample banking facilities had been furnished by English banks. The President, however, granted to the concessionaire a concession for a bank which, under given circumstances, might prove a great danger to the public. The Bank has the power to create and issue notes which are legal tender. It also has the power to issue cédulas secured by mortgage bonds upon real estate. It has the monopoly of raising State loans, &c.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The public regard the provisions for the security of the note issue as wholly unsatisfactory, but the Bank is now established firmly, and is spreading itself all over the country and even into the neighbouring British Colonies. At the same time instructions were given to all public offices not to accept the bank-notes of English banks in payment of Government moneys, although their stability was beyond question. A State Mint was also established, and the use of English silver was forbidden in the Republic.

There has been unconcealed hostility against every man who was suspected of having any sympathy with England, and this hostility has naturally acted as an irritant upon Englishmen. To illustrate this, it is not necessary to do more than to refer to the debates within the last year or two in the Volksraad on a proposal to disqualify all members who had taken the English side during the war of 1881. Indeed, I believe I am correct in stating that a proposal to this effect was only defeated by fourteen to nine votes when it was pointed out that such an act would be a breach of the Convention, which provides that no man shall suffer disabilities on account of the part that he took in the war.

The Government some years ago got the Volksraad to authorise the granting of loans out of the public exchequer to poor Boers; no Uitlander participates in this benefit.

At the present moment I believe the Government is spending public funds to compensate the Boers for loss of cattle by the rinderpest.

A couple of years ago the Government, without authority from the Volksraad, actually advanced out of the Public Treasury between £40,000 and £50,000 as working capital for a coal company formed by some private individuals to acquire some coal farms on the high veldt. I was told that it was induced to take this extraordinary step by the fears of the President being played upon, and his being told that if he did not help to establish the company English capitalists would get hold of the coalmines, which are on the road to Delagoa Bay, and use them to the detriment of the country. There was a great outcry about what was called this coal swindle, and by arrangement between the

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

promoters and the Government the money was paid back into the Treasury and the matter hushed up.

CONCESSIONS AND FACTORIES.

The President is crazy on the subject of having factories in the country, and is always ready to bolster up any application for a concession on the ground that it is necessary to establish factories in the country, or at least he uses this argument.

In the case of the Dynamite Concession, it is notorious that the concessionaires have failed to build a factory within the time prescribed by the concession, and although in the mean time they are allowed to import dynamite free of duty, they have now got a long extension of the time within which they are to erect the factory. I cannot say what influences have secured this extension.

Cyanide has become an important requisite for the recovery of gold, and the President has done his best to get a cyanide monopoly established. His grasp of political economy may be inferred from the fact that when remonstrances were addressed to him against the establishment of a cyanide monopoly, he said he wanted a factory. When answered that it would burden the mining industry, he replied that when the mining industry was exhausted he would have his cyanide factory. A cyanide factory, it was pointed out, could only employ 200 or 300 hands, while the gold industry was the sole support of the State, and employed many thousands, and when told that his cyanide factory would be useless if there were no more gold, he flew into a passion.

The present suppliers of cyanide have factories, I believe, principally in Germany. They feared the monopoly being granted, and to destroy the President's factory argument they actually erected a factory in Pretoria, and are manufacturing a small quantity there at a loss in order to keep the market for their European manufactures open, making their profit on these. To such a length did the concession craze run that the country very narrowly escaped the granting of a concession called a jam and biscuit concession, which would have placed a

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

monopoly for the supply of bread and jam in the hands of a concessionaire.

UNDERGROUND MINING RIGHTS.

I am desired to amplify the statement in regard to Bewaarplaatsen. Referring to the main statement made by me, I wish to make it clear that, in addition to the cases where companies formerly held Bewaarplaatsen under claim licenses and converted them under Government pressure, there was a large number of areas held as water rights and as Bewaarplaatsen which had never been the subject of mineral title. The law forbade digging under these, but when the legislature introduced the principle that underground mining should be permitted upon these areas, the companies naturally contended that they had the best right to minerals under the areas, the surface of which was held by them. Moreover, most of these areas were wedged in between their claims, and nobody else could have worked these to advantage. If they had been granted to the first 'applicants,' these gentry would simply have extorted large sums of money from the companies for mineral rights, which, as to most of them, they could not utilise themselves, but which were essential to the companies.

It is now clear, from documentary evidence which I have seen, that there was a widespread conspiracy, in which prominent Government officials were concerned, to secure the mineral title as it were by stealth. In anticipation of the law, they made applications for all the areas which were so held by mining companies, and it is pretty clear from the documentary evidence that Mr. Lippert, a German, the same gentleman who secured the Dynamite Concession, had conceived this scheme of enriching himself by applying for the mining rights under these areas. He put in applications, and at his instance the Government introduced a clause into the Gold Law, which was submitted to the Volksraad, conferring upon the Government the right to grant these mining rights to the first applicants. The documentary evidence I refer to reveals clearly that if the Volksraad had accepted the Government proposals, it was practically a foregone conclusion that he

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

and the officials and other harpies would have acquired the whole of the mineral rights aforesaid. I am in possession of a copy of a Notarial Agreement which shows that three officials, namely, C. E. Schutte, Chief Magistrate of Pretoria, J. S. Smit, Government Commissioner of Railways, and H. Schoeman, the Commandant for Pretoria District, as well as Mr. F. A. Grobler, who is, I believe, related to the President, were members of a syndicate who were seeking to get these rights. The question of the granting of these mineral rights was in suspense, and was the subject of intrigue constantly in Pretoria from the year 1892 to 1895.

Large sums of money are said to have been spent in connection with this intrigue. One development of the business was that a party in the Volksraad started the theory that these mineral rights belonged to the State, and should be sold for the public benefit, a principle foreign to the Gold Law. Be this as it may, the documentary evidence I refer to shows clearly that Mr. Lippert recognised the equities of the mining companies, for in the calmest possible way he made proposals (avowing his position and action in the matter) which were in effect that if the matter were compromised the companies should be entitled to 75 per cent., and he and the other group of applicants should receive 25 per cent. of the mineral rights. The statements in the Memorandum in question do not represent the true position in regard to these Bewaarplaatsen, but it is immaterial to discuss this. I annex copies of the Memorandum and the Notarial Agreement above referred to, and draw special attention to the schedules to the latter, as they prove that the parties had 'applied' for the minerals on sites avowedly held by the companies. Practically every company on the Rand is included.

The following is an extract from the Memorandum by Mr. Lippert above mentioned:—'In 1894, when I was obliged to leave suddenly for Europe during the Volksraad session, the mines, by exorbitant expenditure and by strained agitation, obtained a victory by two votes; but when they wanted to drive their victory home and get the regulations passed which

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

had been drawn in a hurry, and which would have settled the matter once and for all, the Volksraad declined to do so, the Government and the President having declared themselves emphatically against giving the mines any preference over the applicants, and maintaining the rights of the first applicants in the order of their applications. Had I been in the Transvaal, the result would have been a very different one. Now to the present position : since I returned from Europe, I have ascertained that the Government and the supporters of the President are still of the same mind, and there is a strong section that think the Government should keep the mining rights as an important asset of its own, on the foundation of which their finance would be absolutely secured for the future : the railways would be redeemed, Delagoa Bay secured, &c.

‘As yet the President holds out against this action, which is partly supported by the Progressive party (such as Esselen, Celliers, and others), but he is determined not to further increase the power and influence of the mining companies, in whom he, of course, sees his political opponents, and whom he does not want to carry such a measure against him in the Volksraad. Rather, therefore, than give it to them, he would give it to those who claim the mining rights for the State, and there is not a Boer in the Volksraad who dare refuse assent to such an appeal, if it were only for fear of being charged with bribery.’

Now, up to 1895, the controllers of the companies had studiously avoided politics, and the statement only confirms the view that the Government policy was to restrict the growth of the industry.

Mr. Lippert then avows that he has obtained the control by written contract of the interests of the various applicants, and is in a position to effect the compromise which he suggests.

To show the insincerity and intrigue practised at Pretoria, I may state that when the principle of granting underground mining rights was adopted in 1892, a notice was published in the *Gazette* calling upon all applicants to send in their applications for mining rights, on the 1st September, 1892. It had been

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

bruited about that the first applicants would get the mining rights. I myself attended on behalf of a very large number of Companies at the Office of the Minister of Mines in Pretoria on the 1st September, pursuant to the notice, when a most disgraceful scene took place. The office door was locked, and men were hustling each other and almost fighting with applications in their hands to get into the office first. The door was opened, and dozens of men tumbled over each other into the office, and deposited into the arms of a bewildered official piles of applications. A more monstrous method of dealing with public property of enormous value could not have been devised even by Pretoria. Shortly afterwards a notice appeared in the *Gazette* to the effect that, pending regulations governing the grant of underground mining rights being framed, nothing further would be done in regard to the applications. It now transpires that Mr. Lippert and the officials, and other persons mentioned in the document already referred to, had put in applications beforehand, and that there was a conspiracy to treat them as the first applicants, a show of fair play being made by the Government notice calling for applications. Ever since then Pretoria has been the scene of corrupt intrigue on the subject of these mining rights. There was no safety in a system where such things were possible. I have dealt at length with this question of Bewaarplaatsen because it is typical of what went on in regard to other matters.

THE NETHERLANDS SOUTH AFRICAN COMPANY'S RAILWAY IN THE TRANSVAAL.

THE following are some salient points in connection with this railway :—

In 1884 the Government granted a concession, which the Raad subsequently confirmed, to the Nederlandsche Zuid Afrikaansche Spoorweg Maatschappij, to build a line of railway from the Portuguese border to Pretoria and all other main lines.

Immediately afterwards Dr. Leyds appeared on the scene, being a *protegé* of Beelaerts van Blokland, a Minister of the Crown in Holland. He was first Attorney-General to the Transvaal, and is now State Secretary. In 1886 nothing had been done by the concessionaire, and the President stated, in combating a proposition of a member of the Volksraad, that the concession was dead—‘That the money must be obtained through a company, and they, the company, feared they would lose their money, not knowing the state of affairs in this country; thus the capital had not been subscribed.’

In 1888 the value of the goldfields had been demonstrated by the Uitlanders, principally Englishmen, machinery having been dragged up by ox-waggon hundreds of miles, and the Volksraad instructed the Government to see that the company commenced the line without delay.

In June, 1887, the Company was formed with a capital of £166,666, being 2000 shares of 1000 guelders, or £83 6s. 8d., each.

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

The 2000 shares were subscribed for as follows :—

GERMAN—

Berliner Handelsgesellschaft	...	...	601 shares.
Warschauer & Co. and a few others			218 „
			819 „ = 30 votes.

DUTCH—

Labouchere, Oyens & Co.,	...	...	394 „
R. W. C. vande Wall Bake and a few others			187 „
			581 „ = 76 „
South African Republic	...	...	600 „ = 6 „
Grand Total	...	2000	„ = 112 „

This outrageous manipulation of votes speaks for itself.

The control of the Company is vested in the Directors in Amsterdam. A Government Commissioner is appointed by the South African Republic ostensibly to protect its interests, and Beelaerts van Blokland is that Government Commissioner. His position has been defined as that of a man having an advisory voice.

A series of loans have from time to time been raised by the Company at very high interest, the Government of the South African Republic being surety for the capital and interest. The share capital has also been increased, and now—

The Share Capital is	...	...	£1,166,666	13	4
And liability on loans is	...	...	£6,067,583	6	8

In addition to this there is now to be raised an additional loan of £1,100,000 to pay the cost of doubling the lines. As an instance of the method in which the Company has been financed, the following is instructive. The Company borrowed £650,000 on overdraft, Dutch bankers supplying 53 per cent., and German bankers 47 per cent. of the sum. These bankers demanded as security one million pounds' worth of debentures issued by the Company, and guaranteed by the Government, and stipulated for

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

the right to take over the security at any time during the currency of the overdraft at 5 per cent. less than the average price for eight days on the Company's debentures on the Dutch and German Bourses, and in November, 1892, £1,000,000 of five per cent. debentures were placed at £95 15s., the Company only receiving £90 15s. The Syndicate therefore made £50,000 at the expense of the taxpayer on this one transaction. At this time a loan of £2,500,000 had been raised through Rothschilds for the purpose, *inter alia*, of paying off the overdraft. The money, it is said, was actually in the hands of the Company for that purpose. The overdraft should have been paid off, and the option to take the debentures over which existed only during the currency of the overdraft should have been destroyed. This was not done. At the same time the debentures representing the Rothschild loan, with exactly the same security, were at a premium. It is absolutely clear that the whole of this superstructure rested on the mining industry. Until the value of that had been demonstrated, the country's credit was worthless.

Before the completion of the Delagoa Bay line a section of about forty miles of railway had been built along the line of reef from the Springs Colliery to Krugersdorp.

The Company had also acquired from the Government the right to collect and to pass into its general revenue all Customs dues on goods imported *viâ* Delagoa Bay.

Extortionate charges were made for the transport of passengers and goods on the coal line above-mentioned, and it has been stated by the manager of the Company that the profits of that short section of the line paid the interest on the total cost of construction of all their lines.

It was necessary for the Company, in order to hoodwink the Volksraad, not to allow its accounts to show a shortfall of interest, and consequently a claim upon the country under its guarantee. They had been charged openly—a charge which has never been met—with cooking their accounts in order to show fictitious profits during the period of construction. Thus it has been shown that the Customs dues collected by them figure in their accounts

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

under the heading of traffic receipts; second, that they charged themselves for carriage of their own materials and represented this as profit. By these devices they were able to keep the Volksraad from inquiring into the real condition of things while they were completing their hold upon the vitals of the country.

Mr. Loveday, a member of the Volksraad, has, to his honour be it said, been unremitting in his endeavours to expose the character of the Company's transactions. Unfortunately he has never been able successfully to fight against the enormous power of the Company, backed by the President and Leyds. Leyds was for years State Secretary, and at the same time Government Commissioner of Railways in the Transvaal. It has been openly stated and never denied that his influence has been consistently used in order to promote the interests of his countrymen in Holland. It is obvious that under these conditions the interests of the country should suffer. To show how things were done I may say that a gentleman vouches for this story: A Volksraad Committee having been appointed to inquire into the transactions of the Company, he was present one day in the Committee-room, and saw Leyds, Middleburg (Managing Director of the Company) and Smit (Railway Commissioner), none of them members of the Committee, drawing up the report for the Committee, while the bucolic members of the actual Committee discussed cattle and sheep.

As the credit of the country was pledged for the liabilities of the Netherlands Company, and they had the power to charge exorbitant tariffs when the line was completed, it is not to be wondered at that the greatest recklessness, if not worse, should occur in construction. Thus it was shown that a 74-mile section of line ending at Nelspruit cost £23,950 per mile. No compensation for land had to be given. The coal line above-mentioned is said to have cost £20,000 a mile; while I believe I am correct in stating that the Cape Railway through the Orange Free State, over country somewhat similar to that traversed by the coal line, cost only £6500 per mile. Mr. Loveday has openly denounced what he calls the 'swindling and robbery' which the country

was subjected to, and has challenged contradiction or refutation of his statements—a challenge which has never been accepted. He describes the Company as ‘corrupt from the day of its birth, established in corruption, and now fostered through deceit and corruption—a living lie.’ He openly states that hundreds of thousands of pounds were lost to the Republic on the construction account. Among other facts he exposed (a) that close upon a thousand Hollanders were brought from Holland at the expense of the Republic to work a few months on the line, and then to be sent back to Holland at the expense of the State, the truth being that the greater part of them were found unfit for the purposes for which they were obtained; (b) that earthworks, miles in extent, for which £23,500 per mile was paid, yielded enormous profits, even under wasteful administration, to the original sub-contractors and those under them again; (c) that stone was imported from Europe at enormous cost to build the Komati Bridge with, when there was first-class building stone in the vicinity, and so on. He shows that a contract was entered into with J. C. van Hattum & Co., of Amsterdam, for the construction of the first hundred kilometres. He characterises the contract ‘as savouring of fraud and conspiracy, leading the public to believe that van Hattum & Co. and the Netherlands Company were surely one and the same firm.’ The line was to be built in sections according to specifications mutually agreed upon by the engineers of the contracting parties. Should van Hattum & Co. not exceed the specified cost mutually agreed upon they were to receive 11 per cent. upon the amount of the specification, but should they exceed the specification, then the 11 per cent. was to be gradually decreased by an arranged sliding scale on each 20 per cent. over and above the specification, provided, however, that van Hattum & Co. did not exceed the specification by more than 100 per cent., in which case the Company should have the right to cancel the contract. This speaks for itself. Mr. Loveday also charges the Company with having declared dividends out of capital to create a favourable impression upon the Boers and to stifle inquiry while their scheme was proceeding.

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

The concession was in fact voided by non-performance of conditions, but on two occasions the concessionaires have obtained a new lease of life and even strengthened their position, arguments being put forward by Leyds, the President invariably supporting him, that the country would be in the gravest danger if they borrowed from foreign — for which read English — capitalists.

The Company has the power to charge the following rates : for first-class passengers, 3*d.* per mile ; for second-class passengers, 2*d.* per mile ; for ordinary goods, 6*d.* per ton per mile, with a minimum of £1 for forwarding ; raw goods, such as coal, earth, stone, unsawn wood, &c., 3*d.* per ton per mile, with a minimum charge of £1 for forwarding.

It is also shown that in October, 1892, an increase in the share capital of the Company was authorised by a resolution passed in Holland. Three thousand shares of 1000 guelders were sold to the Transvaal Government at a premium of 10 per cent., and paid for as follows:—

1011 Shares in February, 1892.

818 Shares 9th July, 1892.

1091 Shares in August, 1892.

Thus these shares were bought at a premium by the Government, and paid for months before their creation.

The Government has consented to conditions of expropriation which are outrageous. As stated by Mr. Loveday, those conditions are as follows :—That the Government can acquire the line upon twelve months' notice, provided they pay twenty times the average dividend paid to shareholders during the past three years, also the full amount of the nominal value of the shares, and 1 per cent. for every year the concession would still have to run, which is up to the 1st January, 1915. Writing in 1894, Mr. Loveday showed, that taking a dividend of 3 per cent., after paying the interest on share and debenture capital, a dividend which has been greatly exceeded since then, the result would be that upon expropriation the Government would have to pay :

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

To the shareholders of 3000 $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. shares of 1000 guelders each, £178, for every £100 obligation, and

To the shareholders of 11,000 6 per cent. shares of 1000 guelders each, £198, for every £100 obligation.

The dividend for last year, 1896, amounted to 10 per cent. in addition to the guaranteed interest. It will thus be seen to what an enormous extent, if the present condition of things goes on, the emoluments of the disinterested gentlemen on the Continent will be increased. The country will have to pay them twice or thrice the amount spent (wastefully), to say nothing of pickings, or in the alternative submit to Continental control.

The gross revenue for last year was over £3,000,000, and their working expenses were, in 1895, $48\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the gross takings. Their profit for 1895 is estimated at £1,500,000, a sum practically equal to the whole of the dividends paid by the mining industry with the enormous capital invested in it.

A large section of the Boer population and the whole of the commercial population of the country seeing the extraordinary position into which the country was drifting, and recognising clearly that with the enormous tariffs the Company was permitted to charge, and the fact that the lines were complete, it would be able to declare very heavy dividends and thus increase the expropriation price, petitioned the Raad to take over the line at once. It was made abundantly clear that it was an outrage to permit the concessionaires to double or treble the expropriation price by declaring high dividends based on extortionate charges. President Kruger opposed this, and a submissive Raad rejected the memorials, with a result that is obvious. Continental capitalists are eating the heart out of the country and do not wish to give up such a profitable business. Moreover, the control of the railway confers enormous power politically upon the holders, and it is all a part of the scheme inaugurated by President Kruger and his advisers to strengthen foreign influences as against English influences, and to give Continental peoples the right to clamour about their vested interests. The power to collect Customs dues is given to the Company only at the port of

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

entry *viâ* Delagoa Bay. Customs form an enormous branch of the revenue of the country, the estimates for the last year placing them at £1,500,000. It is manifest that the Netherlands Company would derive a princely income from this source if they could divert the bulk of the trade to Delagoa Bay. In addition to this income they would carry the goods over a longer line at their very heavy tariffs, as their line connecting them with the Cape Colony is only about fifty miles long. It has been the steady policy of President Kruger to be connected with a port independent of English influence, and I think it is obvious that while securing such connection his policy of dealing a deadly blow at the trade through the British Colonies is being satisfied. Nothing could more clearly demonstrate this policy than the action of the Transvaal Government in endeavouring to close the fords on the Vaal River as avenues for Cape trade. President Kruger is said to have induced the Volksraad to reject the expropriation memorials by the argument that the independence of the country was involved in this question, and that while the railways remained in the hands of the Company he could attain ends of policy which he would not be able to do if the railways were held by the country. It is of course manifest that the financial control by Dutch and German bankers would cease if a State loan, not confined to them, were raised, and the railways acquired for the Republic. And it is equally clear that the mining industry would be relieved from an intolerable burden if the right to levy outrageous charges were destroyed.

The Boer is too ignorant to understand how the country is being sapped; and the Uitlander is powerless to prevent it. British capital invested in mines has furnished the means and opportunity of undermining British influence, and South Africa looks on helplessly while disintegrating forces gather strength daily.

DYNAMITE.

1. IN 1881, a concession was granted to Lippert, of the exclusive right to *manufacture* dynamite and other explosives. (See Clauses 1 and 2 of Concession.)

2. Lippert was to have 'exclusive right to trade in the dynamite and other explosives *manufactured by him.*' (Clause 2.)

3. The machinery and material required for manufacturing the explosives were to be imported free of duty. But by Clause 5 it is expressly stipulated that Lippert 'shall, however, not have the right to import from elsewhere gunpowder, cartridges, dynamite, or other explosives.'

4. Clause 3 binds Lippert to 'erect one or more factories for the *manufacture* of dynamite and other explosives, and to place therein all the necessary machinery and appliances required for the manufacture of dynamite and other explosives of *good quality*,' and, in case this condition is not complied with within one year of the date hereof (viz., 31st December, 1887), Government shall have the right to declare this agreement cancelled.'

5. 'Lippert shall, by exhibiting the machinery and appliances and the explosives in clause, sub-clauses 1 and 2 (*i.e.*, gunpowder of every sort required for firearms, cannons, and explosive purposes, and all other kinds of explosives and fireworks manufactured therewith beforehand, prove to the satisfaction of the Government that he is able to properly manufacture such explosives equal to a good quality of the same article, . . . and until this condition is complied with the exclusive right to manufacture such materials and the right to trade therein *shall not exist.*'

6. Lippert ceded this concession to a Company called 'The

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

South African Explosives Company, Limited,' which was a French Company in which Hollanders had a share. He reserved the sole agency for the sale. For doing nothing beyond taking orders and delivering dynamite he got enormous returns.

It was openly stated that at least one influential person in the Transvaal Government had substantial interests in this Company.

7. The Company never erected the factory, and never manufactured one single ounce of dynamite in the country; consequently the concession 'did not exist.'

8. Government never enforced the conditions.

9. The Company imported dynamite from 1888 to 1892, and defrauded the Revenue of Customs to an enormous extent.

10. The concession permitted a charge up to £7 10s. per case of 50 lbs., while the price of such a case in Germany is 21s. 6d.

11. Government exercised no supervision over the quality, and loud complaints were made about the dynamite, for which extortionate charges were being made.

12. The fraud was exposed in 1892, thus:—The Company had been importing dynamite under the name of 'Guhr Impregne' through Cape ports. The Cape Customs officials seized a shipment and demanded duty on it as dynamite. Expert inquiry demonstrated that it was dynamite, and duty had to be paid.

This led to a storm in the Transvaal, and an inquiry in Pretoria demonstrated that the Company had all along been importing dynamite—they had never manufactured it. The President's hand was forced, and in the Volksraad he declared that the country had been defrauded. The concession was cancelled. I say it never had any force. (*See* Clause 5.)

13. The Company should have been sued for the amount of the Customs duty for four years. This was never done.

14. One of the incidents was that the French Company formed by Lippert was, while importing dynamite as described, enjoying benefits denied to English manufacturers, notwithstanding the Convention.

15. The English and German representatives had made strong representations about this. It was said that the President was moved to cancel the concession: first, because he feared being charge with breach of treaty obligations; and, second, the fraud was too palpable and too widely known to be maintained any longer.

16. The concessionaires demanded arbitration; the Government should have refused this, but agreed, and appointed as its own arbitrator a man in whom the public had no confidence.

17. The claim for arbitration was an impudent device to frighten legislators into the belief that the country might have to pay heavy damages, and to form a basis of 'settlement.' It can be shown that the concessionaires about this time admitted, in writing, that they had 'no hope of indemnity from the Transvaal Government.' (See letter from the French Company to the French Government, published in the *Press*.) In 1893 the country was amazed by the Volksraad granting to the Government the monopoly for the trade in dynamite and all other explosives, with the right to appoint an 'agent' to exploit the monopoly. This monopoly—worse than the old one—was granted to L. Vorstman, who was beyond question the agent of the old Company, and Mr. Lippert secured the same rights under the new monopoly as he had under the old.

During the course of one of the debates Mr. Tosen, a member of the Raad, declared himself in opposition to the wishes of the monopolists. The next day he voted in their favour, announcing that the Lord had appeared to him the previous night and shown him the right path. He omitted to mention that Mr. Lippert had visited him that night.

18. There is absolutely no doubt that this new monopoly was devised between Mr. Lippert and the Government, and correspondence between the French Government, the French Consul at Pretoria, and the old French Company—published in the *Press* newspaper in Pretoria—shows that at the time the President was making a great show of anger against the concessionaires he was negotiating with them to restore them to their old position. The correspondence shows that the parties were exercised as to a

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

means of securing the monopoly while appearing to observe foreign treaties. The so-called 'Government Monopoly,' with the agency provision, was the scheme hit upon. When it was carried through the pretended claim for damages was quietly dropped. It had served its purpose.

19. By dint of hard fighting the mining industry got the right reserved to import dynamite under permits to be granted by the Government. This looks fair enough, but it turned out unsatisfactory. First, the utmost difficulties were placed in the way of granting permits; second, the importer had to pay $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem* duty and $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ a pound. The concessionaire paid no duty. The Government got on all dynamite imported through the concessionaire 5s. a case, and 20 per cent. of the net profits—after large deductions for dividends on the Company's capital.

On all dynamite imported by others the duty amounted to 37s. 6d. a case. This shows what a mockery the provision was. The action of the Government in diverting from the Treasury the enormous amount of duty, and permitting speculators to pocket the profits instead, is plain and significant. The mining industry very properly said that if it were just that they should pay such extortionate prices for dynamite, the Treasury, and not foreign harpies, should get the money, as in that case other taxation could be reduced.

20. The mining industry always complained that the Government, in permitting the old concessionaires to charge £7 10s. a case, had given them into the hands of extortioners. The latter admitted this, because they did not dare to charge more than £5 a case latterly; and the new monopoly fixes the price at 95s. for dynamite and 107s. 6d. for blasting gelatine. The companies could import for 40s. a case if left unrestricted.

21. Angered at the dishonest imposition on them, the companies entered into two years' contracts with Nobel's Dynamite Trust, the result of which was that they secured dynamite at 85s. a case, Nobels paying 37s. 6d. duty to the Government, and the companies, while saving 10s. a case, forced the duty into the Treasury; and the contractors undertook, if the monopolists.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

lowered the price, to supply down to 40s. a case plus duty. This demonstrated that dynamite could be sold at a profit of 40s.

Strange Government, that had to be forced by citizens to accept revenue. Such action is not common.

22. Lippert thereupon announced that he would sell at 75s., the lowest price for which Nobels were bound to deliver being 77s. 6d. Lippert hoped to secure the whole trade, as the companies were not bound to buy from Nobel. The facts are instructive as to the fairness of the price, and also as to the action of a Government which could act thus.

23. One illustration of the effect of this may be permitted. The Jumpers Company up to 1893, having spent an enormous amount of money in machinery, &c., had extracted in five years gold valued at £452,000. All that the shareholders got out of that was £22,000. At the meeting held in 1893 the chairman announced that they were not in a position to pay a dividend. His analysis of working out showed that if the dynamite monopoly had not existed, they could have paid 3½ per cent. for that year.

24. When the companies made the above-mentioned contracts with Nobels, President Kruger became furious, said they were traitors, declared he would not have his will thwarted, and threatened that when the Volksraad met again he would take effectual measures to put a stop to it. The fact is that the Government had, when the swindle was being concocted, got the Volksraad to commit to it the power to determine at what amount not exceeding 9d. per pound the import duty on dynamite should be fixed. Under this grossly unconstitutional authority the Government fixed it at 8½d., plus the 7½ per cent. *ad valorem* duty imposed on all goods. The conspirators had clearly thought this outrageous impost would have the effect of killing all opposition to the monopolist trade, while leaving the Government free to say, in answer to any remonstrances on treaty grounds, that the law did not allow importations by any one. The President raged because the companies had found a means, *under his own law*, of getting dynamite at a slightly lower price for themselves, while

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

at the same time securing to the public treasury 37s. 6d. a case. For this they were called contumacious. Can anything more iniquitous be imagined?

The President had, by the most specious arguments on the necessity of being independent of foreigners—which means the English—for munitions of war, secured this rascally and burdensome impost on dynamite which was used purely as an industrial commodity, and yet he was in a rage because they were, under his own law, able for a short time to defeat the monopolists and benefit the country, without in any way interfering with ‘munitions of war.’ Is it necessary to further demonstrate the hollowness, the trickery, and the insincerity which characterised the whole of this nefarious business? There was no honesty in it. But the godly old Boer did not hesitate to stigmatise the companies who were protecting their rights, *within the law*, and benefiting the revenue, as bodies who were opposed to the independence of the country, who did not want factories in the country, and who wished to favour English trade.

Let the truth of these statements be tested by the fact, which is on record, that the Chamber of Mines offered to erect a dynamite factory within two and a half years, to take over the powder factory, to submit to joint control with the Government of both factories, and to pay to the Government 5s. for every case of dynamite manufactured and *fifty* per cent. of the profits; *or* to lend the money required for the erection of the factory at a rate of interest not exceeding five per cent., details of joint control to be agreed on. The Government did not even acknowledge the offer.

Moreover, representatives of the German and English manufacturers offered to erect a factory without any concession and to lodge £100,000 cash in a bank as security for their undertaking. This too was disregarded.

If the President had been single-minded about the factory, why did he not insist on the old concessionaire erecting it? What was he about between 1887 and 1892? How is it that

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

the present monopolists have secured an extension of time within which to complete the factory? If the factory were so essential to the interests of the burghers, how is it that in 1897, ten years after discovery of a great economic principle, there is no factory complete?—the public in the meantime being simply robbed.

How does the Government justify further dealings with people who were alleged to have defrauded the country; and why were those people not sued for the Customs' duties which should have been paid on imports between 1888 and 1892? Why has Mr. Wolmarans never taken up the challenge to deny that he was getting a royalty of 2s. a case?

And now what has happened? The Government still has to import its ammunition. The monopolists are still importing, free of duty, dynamite which can be purchased at 21s. 6d. in Germany, and selling at 85s.

The German manufacturers have amalgamated with the old concessionaires, and even the slight benefit which came from their competition is destroyed. If any further proof be required of the fact that the old concessionaires got the monopoly back again, here it is:—The monopoly is now held by a Company with a capital of £450,000, of which £182,500 in £1 shares were allotted to the old concessionaire Company; 25,000 shares were allotted to Mr. Lippert; 22,500 shares to 'unnamed' persons in Pretoria; and 220,000 shares to Nobels, who paid up £220,000 as working capital for the Company. Further, Mr. Lippert had reserved to him as agency fees for fifteen years, 6s. per case. Messrs. Lewis & Marks, of Pretoria, got 2s. a case for fifteen years; and Mr. Lippert got an additional 2s. a case for three years. And, to crown all, the Government advances out of the revenue furnished by the Uitlanders half a million of money annually to the monopolist, wherewith to exploit the monopoly which is draining their life-blood.

[COPY.]

JOHANNESBURG, 18th January, 1895.

MEMORANDUM

Re UNDERMINING RIGHTS, UNDER VARIOUS RESERVED
PLACES AS BEWAARPLAATSSEN (DEPOSITING SITES),
WATER RIGHTS AND STANDS.

UNDER the Gold Law, the mining under these reserved places on proclaimed goldfields was prohibited, and pegging off was not allowed up to the year 1891 over them. A certain number of the Gold Mining Companies, whose area was either insufficient for the purpose or whose mill was distant from their claims, had obtained from the Government the right to deposit their tailings upon the surface of rather extended pieces of ground, mostly some distance away from their mining claims, and paid for these rights a small fee of 2s. 6d. per month per claim, instead of 15s. and £1 per month per claim, paid for mining rights. These Bewaarplaatsen were registered as such on the distinct understanding that no mining was allowed on them or under them. They were thus accounted of no value as mining properties, nor was there ever any mention made of them as being valuable other than as depositing sites in any Company's report to their shareholders or in any other way. Before the permission to deposit tailings on such sites by the Government became generally known, a few Companies had deposited them on areas which they had pegged out as mining claims under the reduced rates as prospectors' claims at 5s. The Mining Commissioners were then instructed to inform the Companies that they must

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

either pay on these claims the proper digger's license at 15s., or take them out under the regulation of Bewaarplaatsen at the reduced rates of 2s. 6d. ; with scarcely a single exception the Companies abandoned the claims as mining claims, and accepted them as depositing sites, making of their own will this selection, and clearly demonstrating thereby that they claimed only surface and no mineral rights. I deal with this point explicitly because much has been made of the statement that the Government by regulations forced the mining companies to give up their mineral rights in exchange for surface rights, and that the then Mining Commissioner, Mr. Jan Eloff, had promised them that they would always have the preference for mineral rights. Against this statement on oath of a man whom the High Court has several times already declined to believe on oath, I have absolute documentary evidence, quite independent and incontrovertible, and originating from the Companies themselves that the case is actually as already described by me, and that Mr. Eloff's statement is entirely an afterthought by a man, whose relations to some of the movers on the part of the mines is too well known.

It is well known besides that at the time when those claims were exchanged for Bewaarplaatsen, absolutely no mineral value was attached to them, the ground by which they were surrounded, and even much nearer to the outcrop than most of these, being considered of no value. The Jumpers Bewaarplaatsen are about 1720 ft., continued from the outcrop of the Crown Reefs. The disproportion of the Bewaarplaatsen to the mining areas of the individual mines is glaringly apparent ; for instance, the Jumpers held 39 mining claims and 61 Bewaarplaatsen claims ; the Henry Nourse 34 of the first and 59 of the second ; the Tribute three mining claims and 39 Bewaarplaatsen claims ; the Langlaate Royal 15 of the first and 62 of the latter when they applied for them, &c.

Is it credible that all the Companies, so long after they had become aware of the Deep Levels, should never have made mention of the enormous mining values they held in the

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

Bewaarplaatsen ; and had there been any truth in the statement that they had been assured of their preferent right to them, or if at that time they even believed they had such a right? As a matter of fact, only one or two Companies did exchange their mining claims to Bewaarplaatsen, most having taken out the latter straight away, while on the other hand there is at least one Company that declined to make that change, but preferred to pay full licenses and retain the mineral rights. This one case proves anyhow that there was no compulsion on the part of the Government. Having disposed of this main and only point upon which rests the case of the mining, it will not be necessary to take into account the only other arguments brought forward, that the mines by their work have proved the mining value of these areas and have therefore a preferent right (this argument applies equally to all Eckstein's Deep Levels), and that if the companies do not obtain the mineral rights they would be subject to blackmail, and the surface rights guaranteed to them would be subject to damage and to infringement.

The further counts were these :—In January, 1892, I conceived the idea that these Bewaarplaatsen water rights and other reserved places covered great wealth, and I wrote to the Government pointing out that great revenue and increased mining activity would result if the Government granted me the mining rights, for a great many of which I made formal application. I then pointed out to the Government that the companies had never even asked for the mineral rights, that the whole spirit of the Gold Law was against any preferent right except to the first applicant, and that in ordinary cases I had to go to the Mining Commissioner, and, having first obtained licenses, would be the first to pay, but as pegging was prohibited by law, I came with my application to the Government and claimed my right as first applicant.

The Government was willing to support me, but found that they could not do so under the existing law. *I suggested an alteration of the law, and was requested to propose an amendment of the Gold Law, which I did, and my amendment was literally adopted by the Government and ratified by the Volksraad in August, 1892.*

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

At the various stages through which the matter passed, my application was always formally repeated ; but in the meantime it had become public, and applications for underground mining rights poured in from all sides, also from the mining companies, who then fully woke up to the enormous value of these neglected areas upon which they had been sleeping up to then, and from that moment up to now the agitation between the first applicants and the mining companies has never ceased.

The Government always remained firm in favour of the first applicants, whilst in the Volksraad opinion wavered very much, and one year the first applicants, the next the mines, had the advantage. In 1893 there was a draw, and the consideration of the matter (Article 21 of the Gold Law) was suspended for one year.

In 1894, when I was obliged to leave suddenly for Europe during the Volksraad Session, the mines, by an exorbitant expenditure and by strained agitation, obtained a victory by two votes ; but when they wanted to drive their victory home and get the regulations passed which had been drawn in a hurry, and which would have settled the matter once and for all, the Volksraad declined to do so, *the Government and the President having emphatically declared themselves against giving the mines any preference over the applicant, and maintaining the rights of the first applicants in the order of their applications.*

Had I been in the Transvaal the result would have been a very different one.

Now to the present position. Since I returned from Europe I have ascertained that the Government and the supporters of the President are still of the same mind, and there is a strong section that think the Government should keep the mining rights as an important asset of its own, on the foundation of which their finance would be absolutely secured for the future ; the railways would be redeemed, Delagoa Bay secured, &c.

As yet the President holds out against this action, which is partly supported by the Progressive party (such as Esselen, Celliers, and others), *but he is determined not to further increase*

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

the power and influence of the mining companies, in whom he, of course, sees his political opponents, and whom he does not want to carry such a measure against him in the Volksraad. Rather, therefore, than give it to them, he would give it to those who claim the mining rights for the State, and there is not a Boer in the Volksraad who dare refuse assent to such an appeal, if it were only for fear of being charged with bribery.

Having ascertained this situation, I set myself to work to combine the various interests of the first applicants, and I have succeeded to make an agreement by which I have obtained the absolute sole control of these rights, free to deal with them within certain limits. These applicants are bound to me in a proper notarial agreement drawn by Mr. Hull. *Their applications cover the whole ground, and are registered in the State Mining Department as the first applicants, and are all men wielding great influence among the Boers.*

Before joining me their representative was requested by Mr. Lionel Phillips to call upon him to discuss the purchase of their claims to these rights (always, of course, exclusive of my prior claims). The meeting resulted in nothing. £70,000 was asked, which Mr. Phillips absolutely pooh-poohed. Thereupon being by me enlightened as to the value of their applications, the agreement was concluded, and a letter written to Mr. Phillips withdrawing all offers, and intimating that I have the matter in hand.

I propose a compromise to be entered into by the representatives of the Companies whose Bewaarplaatsen are in question and me as representative of the applicants—no secret compact but an open and honourable compromise by two claimants to property in dispute, namely, the applicants to have one-quarter interest, the mining companies to have three-quarters interest in those rights. Thus the mining companies would secure to themselves a free gift of several millions sterling *without expenditure of money in a somewhat dangerous way, without severe friction with the Government and a powerful section of the Boers, and would avoid the danger, which they themselves recognise as such, of altogether losing these rights, be it to the applicants, be it to the State.*

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

It is not intended by me to compromise for money, but for an interest for many and obvious reasons; but the interest will be easily converted into money by the Companies or by any one desiring to do so, *seeing the class of applicants, always in need of money*, and seeing that the individual applicants will each have only a small fraction of an interest in each individual Bewaarplaatsen; thus, apart from my own considerable interest, most of the others can be easily dealt with.

So far I have only dealt with the claims by the applicants to the mining rights under Bewaarplaatsen; as you are aware they also claim the rights under machine stands and under water rights. With regard to the former, the Government proposed to give the rights to the mines; with regard to the latter, the Government will give the right to the mines for the area *actually under the water* and 100 ft. all round, but no more, the rest of the rights going to the applicants.

However, I am convinced that if the compromise with regard to the Bewaarplaatsen is agreed to, the applicants would be induced to withdraw from water rights.

If the compromise be agreed to, the manner of getting it ratified by the Government must be left to my judgment.

(Signed) ED. LIPPERT.

I have omitted to state that all applicants guaranteed to respect all surface rights of the license-holders and offered guarantees to the Government for any damage by undermining.

E. L.

NOTE.—The italics are mine.—C. L.

ANNEXURE 2.

[STAMPED.]

TRANSLATION.

BE it hereby made known that on this the 17th day of December, 1892, before FRANCOIS FREDERICK ZEILER, of Pretoria, in the South African Republic, Notary Public, by lawful authority duly sworn and admitted, and in the presence of the undersigned witnesses appeared, GERRIT FERSTEGEEN and JOHN SERROPIR PARKES, acting for themselves and for their Syndicate, hereafter to be called the first appearers, and SOLOMON GILLINGHAM, acting for himself and his Syndicate, hereafter to be called the second appearer, who declared to have agreed as follows:—

Whereas the appearers and their respective Syndicates have made application to the Government under Article 1 of Law No. 18 of 1892, for the underground mining rights of the respective areas, as set forth in the hereunto annexed Schedule;

And Whereas it is desirable in mutual interest that the said parties should not work against each other in the obtaining of any of the said areas or rights, now therefore the parties have agreed to work in this matter for their mutual interest, that is to say, that all or any of the said applications in whatever name made and granted shall be the property of the parties jointly, namely, that each take a half share therein, and any costs, not law costs, incurred by one or other party shall be paid by whom it has been incurred without recourse upon the other party and without its being deducted from the clear half.

It is further agreed that the contract made and entered into between John S. Parkes, G. Ferstegen, and Solomon Gillingham,

1

This done at Pretoria on the day, month, and year aforesaid,
in the presence of the undersigned witnesses.

Seen and approved. (Sd.) J. S. SMIT.
 „ C. E. SCHUTTE.
 „ H. J. SCHOEMAN.

(Signed) W. VAN HULSTEYN,
Notary Public.

1. Application for the underground mining rights on or under Schweitzer's Township, made by *J. S. Smit, C. E. Schutte, and H. J. Schoeman.*

Schedule of the first appearers referred to in the foregoing notarial deed:

H. Buskes q. q. H. Donaldson ... Ingramsburg.

UITLANDERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

H. Buskes	q. q. A. B. Chancie	...	v. Diggelen's Township.
Do.		...	Meyer & Charlton and Bezuidenville.
Do.	q. q. G. F. Parkes	...	Water right and bewaarplaatsen, Henry Nourse G. M. C., Jubilee, Royal, Meyer & Charlton, Jumpers, Salisbury, Wolhuter, Wolingly G. M., and New Grahamstown.
Do.	q. q. G. S. Parkes	...	Water right and bewaarpl., Pioneer G. M. C., Crown Reef G. M. C., Height and Pritchard, Walter and Plantage, Worcester, Ferreira, Height and Pritchard, Bosman Water right, Free Mint G. M. C.
Do.	q. q. A. F. Henderson		Schweitzer Township water rights, bewaarpl., and machine stands.
Do.	q. q. W. C. E. Erasmus		The Simmer & Jack G. M. C., Geldenhuis G. M. C., George Goch, Amalg. Cornet Main Reef G. M. C., for water right of 14 claims, water right Geldenhuis Stanhope G. M. C. (2), (1).
Do.	q. q. G. Ferstegen	...	Northern portion of stands Boksburg, Prospect Township Station site, Boksburg Reserve Ground, Vogelfontein.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

H. Buskes q. q. J. D. Weilbach... Water rights, bewaarpl.,
machine stands, Nigel
Extension G. M. C.,
Marais Reef G. M. C.,
Modderfontein G. M. C.,
Rietfontein East G.M.C.

G. Ferstegen Townlands, Pretoria.

I declare under oath that the above is a true copy and statement of all applications made by us.

Sworn before me at Pretoria this 27th April, 1894.

(Signed) C. E. SCHUTTE,
Landdrost.

PRETORIA,

24th December, 1892,

(Signed) JNO. S. PARKES.

APPENDICES

TO THE

STATEMENT OF MR. CHARLES LEONARD.

EXTRACT

From the 'Standard and Diggers' News,'

AUGUST 22ND, 1892.

JOHANNESBURG'S AGITATION.

AN AMPHITHEATRE ASSEMBLY.

A PROGRAMME SUBMITTED.

THOUSANDS APPROVE IT.

'GIVE US OUR RIGHTS.'

STIRRING SPEECHES.

NIGHT OF THE BIRTH OF FREEDOM.

THE LEONARDS RUB IT IN.

'WHAT THE WRETCHED DARE.'

AN HISTORICAL MEETING.

IT is from such a gathering as the Amphitheatre held within its capacious walls on Saturday night, that the size and numbers of the Johannesburg of to-day can be grasped. A truly soul-inspiring scene! Commodious as the Colosseum-like structure is, it was packed to its uttermost dimensions with an audience of all that is enlightened, influential, and respectable in the town. The words 'mass meeting' conjure up vague thoughts of indelicacies; yet there was nothing approaching aggressiveness in the manner in which this huge assembly last Saturday gave vent to its grievances and its cry for political redress. Mass meetings in other climes may take pattern of Johannesburg in propriety and dignity of demeanour, even of that 'sensational-

yearning' public which is in part made up of what Pretoria politicians scurrilously characterise as the lowest stratum of a passionate and impulsive society. There was a *souppçon* of suspense and pent-up excitement accompanying this ready response to the recently sounded *reveille*. During the week speculation had been rife as to the nature of the promised 'programme,' there was a tinge of mystery surrounding it; Mr. Jan Meyer was to be dished up as an *entrée* in the political bill of fare, and Mr. Leonard, Q.C., was to be served up with the 'sweets'! Therefore long before the appointed hour the vast auditorium was fully filled, and as each prominent Pleader for the People appeared, the greeting accorded him was such as the Leader of a Party might obtain at the hands of his followers. The scene, as viewed from the proscenium, was extremely impressive and imposing. It had something about it of the great theatres of Ancient Greece, and one's thoughts unconsciously turned to Modern Spain with its Alhambras and—bullfights. There was Toreador Tudhope and his henchmen intent on morally vanquishing the Boer Bull. They would presently rush into the Political Arena and grapple with the stubborn animal, and all the weapons they would use would be the justifiable protest of Intelligence and Enlightenment! A picture that would have been metaphorically complete save for the bull, serenely slumbering the sleep of the satisfied, miles away at Pretoria, and for the absence of a bright-hued costumed bevy of beauty in the boxes, to smile approvingly upon the politically disabled matadors. Surrounding the Chair were to be found as carefully chosen and representative a gathering of Johannesburg's *Uitlander* population as could be desired. They offered as irrefutable a proof of the unanimity of their clamour as the most jaundiced giber could demand. Every interest had sent a delegate, and the Committee of the newly formed National Union embodies essentially fit and proper representatives of Johannesburg's intelligence. Amongst those accommodated with seats on the stage were Messrs. John Tudhope (Chair), James Hay, W. H. Rogers, Carl Jeppe, E. Hancock, E. P. Solomon, H. Solomon, W. P. Fraser, H. Adler, H. Langermann, E. H.

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

Duning, A. H. Reid, H. A. Reid, J. Jeppe, jun. The Law was represented by Messrs. J. W. Leonard, Q.C., J. G. Auret, C. Leonard, and F. C. Dumat; Commerce by Messrs. C. Malcomess, and D. Holt; and the Cloth by the Rev. D. W. Drew. The 'workers and producers' of the land were in full force beyond; as indeed was *all* Johannesburg in that assembly of 3000 men.

The proceedings were commenced at 8.15, when Mr. Tudhope, with the cool, calm, collected complacency of an old Parliamentary hand, opened the meeting in a succinct speech. The majority of the speakers who followed were becomingly nervous, a sensation which was not surprising, as in all probability none of them, save Mr. J. W. Leonard, Q.C., had ever addressed so large, so influential, and so eager a gathering in their lives before; and in these circumstances the seriousness of the situation had the effect on the speakers referred to. We have excluded Mr. J. W. Leonard, in that that gentleman was a prominent speaker on the occasion of the huge meeting in Capetown some years ago, when the Empire League was formed, to counteract the then rabid Afrikaner Bond, which has, however, since toned down, and developed into a useful and respected body.

STATING THE CASE.

The Chairman (Mr. John Tudhope) who on rising was greeted with loud applause, said: Citizens of Johannesburg, this meeting has been called, as you are all aware, in consequence of a meeting held last Saturday night here, when it was thought desirable that a further meeting should be held, at which meeting the people of Johannesburg should have an opportunity of expressing their views upon some of the most important questions of the day. (Hear, hear.) At that meeting several speeches were made, indicating what might be expected at the next meeting, and we have endeavoured, as much as possible, to shadow forth what would be the duties of the Committee nominated to work in the interval. The Committee thought a distinct programme should be given out before the night of the meeting. A number of programmes have been distributed amongst the audience to-night,

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

from which you will see we have not been idle in the mean time. (Applause.) Before I proceed with any observations I would like to make one or two remarks regarding this meeting, and will first ask you to be as orderly as possible, and uphold the decisions of the chair. (Hear, hear.) But I do so not because I think there will be any disorder in this meeting. Judging from the proceedings of last Saturday night—I never attended a more orderly meeting—there was no danger in this direction, and I trust the meeting will be equally orderly here to-night. We intend to be moderate; we intend to be firm. In all we do we shall appeal only to law and order, and our demands are so reasonable, and our programme such a comprehensive one—it excludes no parties—that I believe it will be accepted by the public of Johannesburg and the Government of Pretoria. (Applause.) I think the originators of this movement can claim they have correctly gauged the feelings of the public of Johannesburg, when I look around and see this magnificent meeting. Still, they have only put into shape what has been in the hearts of men for months past. The subject of our grievances, the grievances of the apparently new population of Johannesburg, has been in the mouths of men wherever men have congregated together, and we have asked you here to-night to give that private expression public voice. I have been asked what occasion there is, what exigency there was for calling this meeting; whether there was any special event that led up to it. I have replied, not only by a special event, but a great many of them. First of all, as mentioned last Saturday night, we have the attitude of the Volksraad towards the people of Johannesburg. I shall only enumerate a few of these things in order to justify the proceedings here to-night. First, we have the attitude of the Volksraad towards the mining industry in the matter of the dynamite question. (Applause.) Another matter was the neglect of our reasonable representations for a licensing Act, to be able to regulate the drink traffic with natives. They objected to have the licensing powers removed from a controlling power at Pretoria to use in Johannesburg. Then there was the deputation when our representatives

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

were treated with scorn. (Groans.) Then the most important question—We asked that a Court of Justice might be established here; this was also refused. On another subject a resolution was taken with regard to our local self-government, and I suppose that was the last straw that broke the proverbial camel's back. The reply to this was that we would have to be satisfied with the general Municipal Act, which applies to the whole country. Another resolution was passed recently, by which a large number of the inhabitants were deprived of their votes. By the present resolution of the Volksraad only burghers of ten years' standing will be allowed to vote for the highest office in the land, that of President. Such are the sins of commission. We come now to the

SINS OF OMISSION.

First of these stands the neglect of education, and this point will be appreciated by all working men, because you have to pay a heavy tax and get hardly any return for it. (Applause.) We are not sufficiently protected by the police. How otherwise could it be possible that a murder could be committed on a bright moonlight night in one of the busiest thoroughfares of Johannesburg, and the murderer escape detection? Then look at the mines! What protection have the miners against accident and disaster? But it is not necessary for me to go further into this question. I think we are amply justified in calling you together to give voice to your many grievances. Now, gentlemen, I have only one or two remarks more to make before calling on the next speaker. I have looked through the newspapers of this town to find out how they supported this movement, and I think I have the right to expect that the Press would take the matter up warmly and heartily. Have they done so? (Voices 'No,' and groans.) The *Star* has certainly shone its brightest light upon the situation, has taken the side of the people, and has written strongly in order to clearly set before us the needs of the people. As to the other papers, there is one—(A voice, 'The Critic')—the *Critic*; yes. I have been very much pleased with the attitude displayed by the gentleman who conducts that paper, and I think that, if he would

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

drop a few of his categorical 'I's,' and adopt a few more editorial 'we's,' the paper would become a power in this place. With regard to the other papers, the *Transvaal Mining Argus*, it seems to me that that paper has been drawing the Government stop to the fullest extent, and is blinded entirely in all its hundred eyes as to the popular movement. Then the *Standard and Diggers' News*—(groans)—a paper of which I had certainly hoped better things—well, on the Monday after last Saturday night's meeting, it had a very sensible article; but since then the paper had been see-sawing, so that nobody knows on which side of the beam it is. (Applause and laughter.) He would only read a few extracts from a recent article in that paper. Here is what the gentleman who does the duties of the editor of the *Standard and Diggers' News* suggests with regard to the remedies of our grievances:—

'Our rulers are evidently persuaded still that their franchise measures are fairly liberal in the whole circumstances of the country and its people, and that the day is approaching swiftly enough when, by the ordinary course of things, the expiry of the ten years' term of probation, and the advent upon the scene of a rising generation of "Uitlander burghers," youths born on the spot—(loud and long laughter)—the great change will come about, and the New Republic will be established on its broader basis.'

Gentlemen, will any of you tell us what this way out of the difficulty means? It means that we have to wait sixteen years for those who can exercise the vote. The article continues:—

'Is it unnatural that the fathers of the land should think so?

They have toiled and sweated for their country.'

They might have sweated a little more. (Laughter.)

'And are naturally slow to divest themselves of their rights, titles, and exclusive privileges.'

Is that the intention of this meeting? Do we wish to deprive any man of his rights, or prevent any single individual from expressing his rights? No, gentlemen, those who have 'toiled and sweated' for their rights in this country certainly deserve everything they have got, and it is not our desire to abridge their

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

rights by one iota. (Applause.) Then we are lectured by this paper upon the outside question.

‘That is an aspect of the question which Johannesburg does not sufficiently appreciate. It imagines *it* is the Transvaal, and forgets there is a world beyond it beside which it is almost insignificant in area and in numbers, though not in revenue-yielding capacity. What Johannesburg has got to do is to try to look at the Transvaal from a Transvaal point of view. When it shows a disposition to do that, it should not be difficult to establish a new and better understanding between Pretoria and Johannesburg on all and sundry matters, whether of municipal or political comment.’

But the one thing for which I am thankful to this paper for is that it has given us an extract from a Pretoria paper, an article which is headed ‘Gone astray.’ Gentlemen, one would think that the gentleman who wrote that article had ‘gone astray’ himself. (Laughter.) I shall only read a few extracts from this precious article, and would advise gentlemen of a literary turn of mind to cut this production out and paste it in their ‘scrap book.’

‘We are amazed at the proceedings of this meeting, and the astonishing part taken therein by some so-called influential citizens of the town. It has been evidenced more than once during the still short existence of the Golden City that in a town like Johannesburg, where all sorts and conditions of men are gathered from every quarter of the globe, the lowest stratum of society is of a passionate and impulsive character, and but little fit to govern itself or others.’

This from Pretoria! This from the men to whom we are indebted for the loss of numbers of valuable stands in Johannesburg! This from the men with whom the Stand Scandal originated. I say ‘Scandal,’ for it is nothing less. And they are lecturing us, who, by their mismanagement, have filched from us our stands, and disposed of them privately at Pretoria! (A voice

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

—‘Government can do no wrong!’) These are the honest people who took £100,000 of the public money to spend upon the streets of Pretoria. And who supplied the money? (A voice—‘We did.’) Yes, you did. Here the article goes on to say, and I have read this part over and over again:—

‘But that men of riper political experience, such, for instance, as Mr. Tudhope (a past Colonial Minister), should conduct themselves in the way they did last Saturday, has disappointed us, and strengthened our opinion that the Johannesburg of to-day is as little ripe for political responsibility and local self-government as the Johannesburg of a year ago.’

I must say I cannot make out the meaning of this passage. Then the article goes on to say that ‘they’ (the people of Johannesburg) ‘will act more intelligently by not exposing themselves to ridicule by uttering threats against the Government.’ Who is uttering threats? Has this meeting? This is a paltry subterfuge to divert the attention from the point at issue. Then this is delightful:—

‘It is furthermore not nice of Messrs. Tudhope & Co.’ (that is where the ‘Co.’ comes in, pointing to the audience) ‘to rail at the tactics of President Kruger and Dr. Leyds, for it is probable that the combined intellects of Messrs. Tudhope & Co. would swim, as in a great lake, in the intellects of Kruger and Leyds.’

Gentlemen, I have read this part over about sixty times, and have been greatly amused by it. But what does it mean? If it is a question of appreciating the powers that be, I yield to no man—(applause)—in my admiration of the sterling qualities of President Kruger. I admire his honesty, his natural intelligence, and his statesmanship. He is a man sprung from a class which is honoured by me as he is honoured by them. Any one who has followed his career cannot but admire the man. As to Dr. Leyds, I look upon him as a member of the Cabinet who, by his culture and knowledge of the world, stands head and shoulders above his colleagues. Would that the rest of the Ministry were like him.

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

But as to 'swimming in the intellects'—well—I do not like to keep you any longer. The programme which will be laid before you will show what we propose to do. It is, in a few words, to educate the people, not only the English-speaking portion, but the Dutch also, and by every possible means to disseminate information throughout the whole land. We shall try to stir up a political feeling among the population at large. As it was said during the Reform agitation in England—'Register, Register, Register!' so would I say—'Organize, Organize, Organize!' We do not say what we will do or what we will not do, but we rest our cause on its justice only, and I think that its justice will triumph. We shall be victorious in the end, but our victory will be peaceful. (Loud applause.) I shall now ask Mr. Charles Leonard to propose the first resolution.

Mr. C. Leonard, who was enthusiastically received, said it was very gratifying to him to see such a body of citizens gathered together to show their love of freedom and justice. He proposed the following resolution, which he hoped would commend itself to the meeting :—

'That regard being had to the great influx of population into this State, the magnitude of their interests, the fact that the greater portion of the public revenue is contributed by them, while they have no voice in the legislation of the country, that many grievances and abuses call for redress, and that there is reason to fear that exclusion from political rights may develop into a source of weakness and danger to the State: it is desirable to form a Union to obtain political rights and the redress of grievances.'

A programme, he continued, will be laid before the meeting a little later on. That programme was very simple. Its main features were to maintain the independence of the State and to obtain equal citizens' rights for all. (Applause.) I need hardly say (said Mr. Leonard) the Committee whom last Saturday night's meeting did the honour to appoint intend practically to adhere to that programme. Nothing will move them from it. They are not here to oppose anybody, not to go against the laws of the

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

country. (Hear, hear.) They are here to simply ask for that which reason approves and right demands. With regard to a few words which fell from me on a previous occasion, I should like to say a few more. I think it is only due to me. I uttered a somewhat epigrammatical and possibly true expression when I described the ruling power in this country as an unintelligent minority. I wish to qualify that, as I do not think it was quite just, and I regretted that I did not say 'uneducated' instead of 'unintelligent.' (Laughter and applause.) You must not think I am going to back out from my colours in any respect. I think the natural intelligence of the Boer in this country is very greatly to be respected, and his inability to grasp the questions of the day is simply owing to the circumstances under which he has grown up. (Hear, hear.) It is our duty to educate him up to a knowledge of these duties. (Laughter.) I have many firm friends amongst the Dutchmen in this country. I am a South African born, and my parents were born here, and I claim to be as good a South African as any of them. I yield to no man in my admiration of the good qualities which the Dutch population undoubtedly possess. The Boer is prejudiced, and has not had the opportunity for the wider culture which many of us have enjoyed, and we should assist him and not blackguard him too heartily. I have heard it stated in Pretoria that this meeting is froth and mere indisposition, which would be cured in a week. I ask the meeting to say 'Yes' or 'No' to that. (Cries of 'No.') I have also seen newspaper paragraphs which have dared to say to the intelligent population of Johannesburg that to speak out as men was rebellion. (Hooting.) I have also heard it said that those men who last Saturday night pleaded for the feeling that was in their hearts would hang separately some day. I ask you whether these people are the exponents of our opinions. (Cries of 'No.')

In dealing with the present state of things it is necessary to go back somewhat in the history of the Transvaal. Fifty years ago a number of people, moved by diverse considerations, no doubt nomadic instincts, a rooted objection to any settled form of Government, and a terrible objection to taxation (laughter),

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

came across into the Transvaal. That objection to taxation is present still. (Laughter.) They came across the river which now forms the boundary of an independent State; they cleared a few niggers out, shot a few lions, about which they boast a great deal, like Lord Randolph Churchill—(laughter)—they obtained a great quantity of land for nothing; and claim, because they were immigrants a few years before the Uitlanders were, that they have the right to rule our destinies for ever. I will say that for the original body of trekkers they had very sound ideas of what a Republic was. (Laughter.) They formulated what are now known as the 33 Articles, and I find upon looking at that Constitution that there is nowhere a qualification with regard to immigration, and that every white man in the country at the time was a burgher. (Applause.) We shall see how far they have departed from that right of equality. Later on, in 1855, they passed a law by which any foreigner could become a full citizen upon payment of £25, but in 1874 the franchise qualification was again changed. Holding land or real estate in this country entitled a man to burgher rights, and, if he did not hold land, residence for one year was sufficient to entitle him to all rights of citizenship. In 1882 the law was again changed, and it was prescribed by the Volksraad that foreigners had to reside for five years in this State, but after that they had every right the original trekker had. In 1892 another change was made in the franchise law. There was a great deal of feeling against the Government about two years ago, and the result of that feeling was that we had the Second Chamber given us. The Volksraad of this country decided on giving us a sop, in granting us the Second Chamber. Those who had been two years on the Field-Cornet's list, and who had taken the oath of allegiance and paid a sum of £5, were naturalised.

Now, gentlemen, the meaning of that was that, although they gave us the Second Chamber, we had no control over the purse-strings of this country. When we were getting that sop they were giving us the shadow and took away the substance. I will ask you to compare the 33 Articles with the law of 1893, which

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

was so altered to our detriment that you had to be on the Field-Cornet's list for ten years before you could have the right to vote for a Member of Parliament, and fourteen years before you are eligible to become a Member of Parliament. I am justified in saying they have given us a shadow and taken away the substance. (Hear, hear.) I don't doubt there are many present here to-night who, moved by the spirit of obedience to the laws, and desiring to become citizens, availed themselves of the privilege of naturalisation. Men thought—and the Volksraad Act leads to that assumption—that, if they complied with the conditions, and paid their £5, they were entitled to the full rights of citizenship. They were told now that it was not so. This session of the Volksraad a Member of the Raad had said: 'We never intended to give you those privileges when we took your £5; it was only a sham; and if we did not make it clear then we will do so now.' (A voice: 'Shame!') Is that the thing to say to men I see around me? ('No!') What is naturalisation? To an ordinary man it conveys the idea that you become a citizen of this country. Has the Volksraad not admitted, by giving us the Second Chamber, that we are peaceable citizens, and that we should get what we are asking for? ('Yes!') There are some extraordinary minds in this country. (Laughter.) When we are peaceable and orderly citizens, and trusted to a certain extent with the management of local affairs, why should they now, when they have already admitted our claims, deprive us of them? Why do they refuse us full rights? What can be the object of this distrust but a selfish desire to retain the power which they have?

Prior to the breaking out of the goldfields what was the position of the Transvaal? They were in a position of abject poverty, and a Transvaaler who fought in the War of Independence said that with another six months of it he would have stuck out for a change of Government. He had no money, no food, no markets for his produce, and no means of feeding his children. That may have been an isolated case. Still, the Transvaal was in a very poverty-stricken state. We have, how-

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

ever, a fact, that the Government had to borrow £5000 from a person in the State at 12 per cent., and to pledge as security a large amount of ground for the debt. That money was wanted to pay the salary of the officials. Contrast that to the condition of things to-day. Wealth came upon them beyond the wildest dreams of men. Taxes had to be imposed, and nobody here objected to the taxes because there could be no Government without money. (Hear, hear.) But we do object to taxes when we have no voice in the spending of them. (Applause.) Taxation comes with representation. (Applause and cheers.) Upon whom were the taxes imposed to produce this sudden wealth? (Shouts of 'Uitlander!') Yes, it was upon the Uitlanders. The Boers object to taxation, and it was their reluctance to pay taxes that brought them across the Vaal River in 1839. The same spirit characterised him in 1880, and with the influx of people subsequently to the Gold Fields, *he* said, 'We have the voting power, we will put on the taxes and keep these Johnnies in their place.' (Laughter.) It always had been the fault with the Dutch of giving too little and asking too much. They had not lost that qualification yet. (Laughter.) They were always hearing talk about the political independence of this State being threatened. Now, I ask you, gentlemen, to say whether it is the intention of any one to interfere with it. (Cries of 'No!') They simply said this in order to save themselves from burdens, and to put them on us. (Hear, hear.) None were desirous of interfering with the form of the Government in the State, and I believe many here would go further and resent it in a practical way. We want a Republic in truth and not in name. (Hear, hear.) What is the condition of things in the Cape Colony? The new-comer or the Uitlander arrives in Cape-town and states he would like to settle in the country and become a citizen. Well, then, he is asked to sign a document, pays his half-crown, and it is published once or twice in the *Gazette*, and he is a full-blown citizen. (Laughter.) Now I ask you, has that broad system endangered in any respect the Cape Colony? (Voices: 'No.') I think the Cape Colony an infinitely truer

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Republic than this. (Hear, hear.) If a similar condition had existed here, would we not have been a truer Republic?

Speaking of the Free State, a certain Act had been established between the Free State and this country by which the inhabitants of the Free State and the Transvaal had equal rights in the other's State, but we, who contribute the revenue of the country, are excluded from those rights. Is that just and fair? (A voice: 'No!') Why should the Free State alone participate in these privileges when we and others are excluded? We don't seek to go upon racial lines; the racial distinction is brought about by the Government of this country—we seek to obviate this distinction. (Hear, hear.) I may go a little further in discussing the matter. I am not prepared to say, and would not dispute, perhaps, that in a practically virgin soil, in a country where thousands and thousands of acres of public land are yet unallotted, that the same condition should exist, as, say, in a country like Germany. What would have been said, for instance, if the Chartered Company said regarding Mashonaland, 'We are the first band of pioneers: we took the risk of having our throats cut, and we fought the Kaffirs, and we must have the first say on all matters?' What would be thought of such a proposition?

Now, gentlemen, we came here and developed the Transvaal; those I see around me are they who, by their energy, have made the Transvaal what it is to-day. It is not, however, necessary to go over that ground. Take the vested interests as the basis of argument, and we have very fair justification for claiming equal rights. I ask you to compare the town valuation of Johannesburg to-day with the valuation of the whole Transvaal ten years ago. I ask you to look at the gold output, amounting to nearly £4,000,000 for the past year, and I ask you to remember the purchase price of the country ten years ago. Who has made the Transvaal? We came here and found the original burghers settled upon farms; they had no markets; no means; their only means of living was to contract their wants. (Loud and continued applause.) Who enabled them to live, who made markets for them? We! Yet we are told we are mere birds of passage,

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

and that, because they were here before us, we have no right. Who pays the Volksraad members their £3 per day? (A voice: 'We do!') I understand the spirit of franchise in this country; there are two principles underlying it. The Boers are naturally hostile to changes, and the other is the possession of landed property. I ask if we have not the qualification of large vested interests in the country? Have we not obeyed the laws of the country? We have given hostages to fortune. Our wives, our children, our homes are here, and most of us are likely to live, and a great many to die, here. Gentlemen, I appeal to the town of Johannesburg, to the public men, for the sake of the thousands of children growing up, I appeal to the permanent character of the town buildings, and I say the very stones of Johannesburg plead eloquently for the cause and justice of our case. What has been our attitude during all this time? We have paid the taxes, hoping for better things; we have been waiting patiently for five years. Hope deferred makes the heart sick, and I believe we are all getting very sick. I say a wave is coming. The time is come when we have to stand up as men for our rights. I believe the Boers will see the justice of our cause, and respond to our demands. When once the paths diverge, how difficult it may be to remove misconception and bring peace again! I say with the words of the resolution: 'There is reason to fear that exclusion from political rights may develop into a source of weakness and danger to the State.' These words speak for themselves, and it is unnecessary for me to add to them. A house divided against itself cannot stand. We want to be friends and brothers of the farmers—a perpetual sore of irritation and discontent can lead to no good. Nobody is more anxious than we to avoid friction and discontent. I say what is in my heart. I believe I echo the feeling of this meeting when I say we want to be friends and brothers. (Applause.) Why should they display this feeling of hostile legislation? Everything is put upon us. 'Things are not what they seem.'

I read in the preamble of the Customs Act just passed—
'Whereas it is desirable to more evenly distribute the burden of

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

taxation upon the inhabitants of the State,' and the Raad immediately proceeds to tax everything the Uitlander uses, and lets go free what the Boer uses. (Applause.) I believe the policy of the Government has been unsound in principle from the first—a policy of concessions, of ignorance of finance, ignorance of railway policy, and of mining law. Cogent questions call with urging voice for redress. There is such a thing as a public line of conduct. We have a young country, boundless resources, and no public debt, and yet they were compelled to float a public loan at 90, and then it cost $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to pay people who never earned the commission. I ask you if that state of things can last? One of the first duties of a civilised country is to provide cheap administration of justice. We petitioned with the voice of the people of this town for a judge in our midst. We told Government what it cost us. Thousands and thousands are spent in witnesses' expenses who go to Pretoria and help to fatten the hotel-keepers of that town. We tell them it is impossible to calculate the loss to the business community in having to wait weeks in Pretoria until the case comes on. We prize before anything the principle that justice should be over every man's door. One member of the Volksraad had said: 'What does Johannesburg want with a court? I have not got a judge upon my farm.' (Laughter.) Another thing, the judges were not paid according to what they ought to be paid in every civilised country. We can never hope to attract the ablest and best men unless we pay them properly. This subject lies very near to all our hearts and interests. The judges asked that a small provision might be made to pay hotel bills. This was declined, and we are cut down to two circuits per year. The result of all this is endless law costs. Another matter, gentlemen. We live in this town, which has grown during the four years of its existence almost miraculously. It is certainly not like other 'dorps' in the Transvaal. (Laughter.) The town has in fact grown so rapidly that the convicts could not keep pace with the ordinary street-maker. Our lives are depending on the health of the town, and more than that, the lives of your

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

wives and little ones, of all those who are dearest to you, depend on it. We ask Government to be allowed to set our own house in order, and the reply is:—‘We don’t trust you, and will not give you the power.’

Now, gentlemen, I am not here to stir you up to any sudden flood of mutinous rage. This meeting itself shows that we mean business, that we want reform, and that we will not relax our efforts until it is conceded. (Applause.) There are a number of other speakers to follow, and I will not keep you any longer, but I wish also to show a little of the other side of the picture. Our request for a Municipality, for a Court of Jurisdiction in Johannesburg, and many other reforms, are disregarded, but on the other hand we are threatened every Sunday with paltry prosecution. There is, for instance, the manager of a Company summoned on a Monday morning to pay a fine of from £50 to £1000 because he has made a mistake of two ounces in his return of gold. And there are the gentlemen at Pretoria spending their time and the country’s money in legislating for the painting out of the letters EET on the plates on the street corner. (Laughter.) Gentlemen, we may smile at such things as a relief to our surcharged hearts, but the matter lies deep in my heart, and I do not speak in any light spirit. I am not a public man, and do not seek notoriety. I should like best to live in obscurity, and if we get our rights I shall not be seen on any public platform again. I ask you to make it clear that this movement is in earnest and not nonsense, as the *Diggers’ News* would make out. There is one other thing: Deputations are about played out. We may send our best men to Pretoria and let them plead their best—only to be snubbed. Memorials are sent to the Volksraad and referred to a Committee, and thereafter they are never heard of again. Unless we rise as one man and tell our feelings, we shall never be understood and listened to. This has never been done yet, but I hope that this meeting will do it. I do not think there can be any doubt that we are unanimous there must be a change. Reform there must be, and reform we will have. (Applause.) Our intention is to revive some of the spirit of the whole Thirty-

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

three Articles, and to show that we will no longer be excluded from all political rights. We are agreed that such exclusion would lead to great danger in the future, and that there are grievances which must be redressed. The union of the country requires that we shall stand up, and resolve that these grievances are removed. I know there are some people who like to sit on the rail; who like to wait so that when nothing comes of the movement they are able to say—‘We did not do it.’ There are people who like to wait till we have burnt our fingers to get the chestnuts out of the fire. I do not think that is our spirit. This agitation has only the purpose of obtaining for us our rights, and I think this spirit is all in your hearts to-night. If I have said anything which might appear offensive, I wish it to be understood to-night that nothing was further from my intention than to say anything which might give offence to the Dutch people in this country; but the time will come when the man who points out the dangers which are appearing in the future, will be acknowledged by themselves as the truest friend which the country has. I hope you will combine, and will show to the older inhabitants of the country that your interests and theirs are identical. As the fruit of to-night’s meeting, I expect a better political understanding in this State—(long and loud applause)—and I hope that the establishment of the Transvaal National Union will contribute to destroy all racial prejudices, and that this country will become the most prosperous and one of the greatest, as it certainly will if we only act in unity. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Mr. Jas. Hay, who seconded the resolution, said the time had come when it was necessary a union should be formed to protect the interests of all the people in this land. (Hear, hear.) They had waited patiently and toiled on in this place, developing the resources of the country, and had done all things tending to the prosperity of all the people in the land. Now they asked something in return. Some people said they should sit down and wait still longer for the Government to give them something. Did they know any Government in the world that gave anything

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

before the people asked for it? The people had generally to ask over and over again for any concession to be made. Let the Government of this country understand that they had organized, and that they intended to urge their demands over and over again, until they got some share in the government of this country. It was absolutely necessary for the good of the people of this country that pressure should be brought to bear on the Government, that the corruption and mismanagement in the Transvaal should be swept away. (Applause.) Those of them who had read the remarks made by Mr. Loveday about the railway construction in this country must have had their eyes opened. This mismanagement was going on, and the Government and the Raad, as it at present existed, were utterly unable to govern this country as it ought to be governed. The Chairman of the Raad had told them that for several years locusts did not come on to a man's property until he killed a few, and then they came! (Laughter.) It struck them as being so absurd that it was impossible for them to imagine that men, holding such views, could make laws for the government of a country like this. With reference to the request for a judge here, Mr. Hancock and himself went over to Pretoria and attended a commission appointed by the Raad to take evidence on the matter. They handed in a document, setting forth that a Court should be established here, and on behalf of the people here they signed that document, which promised to defray all the costs of the Court. (Hear, hear.) What did they get for that? Simply nothing, even though they were heavily taxed and promised to pay the additional tax. The Government did not intend to give the people here anything; and they would not get it until they asked. (Laughter.) Last year, at Paardekraal, the President gave practically the key-note of the Government in this country. He stated distinctly that the hand of God had brought the people into this land, and that when the country was in the hands of the English, God blinded the eyes of the men (the experts) who came out here to look for gold. They only found the gold in small quantities, but no sooner did the Boers get the country back than God revealed the hidden wealth to the utmost—

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

(laughter)—and that instead of it being a bare country He had repaid them sevenfold for all they had lost in the war. They thought God had placed gold in these reefs, and the people here were to work for their benefit. (Laughter.) They had just increased the Customs duties, though some of the members have said: ‘Why are you doing this when you have an increase in the revenue?’ It was to make the people here work harder for their benefit, thinking they would not then have time to ask for anything. He simply urged upon the meeting to carry the resolution unanimously, and to support it to the fullest extent. These people, ten years ago, when they met at Paardekraal, put a stone down to show that they were unanimous, and that so long as those stones stayed there they would stand together. They had got to do the same thing here—to show there was unanimity amongst them; that they were going to stand together and ask for what they wanted to secure good government for this country and make it a place worth living in. (Applause.)

The resolution was submitted to the meeting and passed unanimously.

Mr. E. P. Solomon, who rose to move the second resolution, said: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I have not hitherto addressed a public meeting in Johannesburg, and it is unnecessary for me to say why I have not done so. But on a question like this, it is the duty of every man to express his opinion publicly and fearlessly. (Hear, hear.) That is my object in coming here to-night, to show that the meeting has my full sympathy and my hearty support. (Hear, hear.) I do not want to see men come to the meeting and just hold up their hands; I want them to work and support us. We want their co-operation not only in Johannesburg, but throughout the whole of the Transvaal. (Cheers.) The Union is not going to be confined to Johannesburg alone, we are going to have branches throughout the Transvaal. A certain organ that professes to guide public opinion in Johannesburg has said we are ‘shouters.’ What we desire is to get our grievances redressed and seek our own rights. (Hear, hear.) And we intend to keep asking again and again until we get them. (Loud applause.) We

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

have not come here to excite your feelings: our cause is just and right and that in itself must gain redress. (Hear, hear.) You have adopted the resolution moved by Mr. Leonard to carry out a political union, and have shown your sympathy with it. You have approved of the organization, and it is now my duty in a plain and simple manner to read to you the resolution that I have to propose. We are not ashamed of a single thing that we are doing. We are working on constitutional lines, and any one who dares go beyond these will not have our support. (Cries of 'Kick him out.') We will kick him out, as you say. (Laughter.) The constitution framed for the Union is fair, simple, and right. Everyone can read and understand it. There is no double meaning. It has been carefully framed by the Committee, and you are asked to support it. If there is anything that does not suit you, then you can propose amendments. I do not want any one to get up in a haphazard way, but if an amendment is necessary it will be received. The resolution I have to propose is:—

'That regard being had to the great influx of population into this State, the magnitude of their interests, the fact that the greater portion of the public revenue is contributed by them, while they have no voice in the legislation of the country, that many grievances and abuses call for redress, and that there is reason to fear that exclusion from political rights may develop into a source of weakness and danger to the State, it is desirable to form a Union to obtain political rights and the redress of grievances.'

Those are the objects. They are plain and definite, and we intend to carry them out and to be firm on the matter. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, we don't want to make money out of you or to ask you to make a certain subscription, but we require money to carry on the Union, and we expect men whose hearts are in the Union to come forward and subscribe. A shilling is as acceptable from a working man as £100 are from a rich man. (Hear, hear.) Therefore I hope you will support the Union as far as you are able.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

There are other speakers to address you, so that I will now move the resolution.

This was done accordingly.

MR. LEONARD'S ORATION.

The Hon. J. W. Leonard, Q.C., who on rising to second the resolution was greeted with loud applause, said :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I have never spoken in a circus before, and it seems rather difficult to reach with the voice the extreme verge of this amphitheatre. I hope some one will be able to hear me, though I am at present suffering from a physical disability, caused by incessant speaking. It is difficult to speak, and I have not come to make a speech, and only speak because I have been asked. I feel very much in the position of the man who says :—‘ Story ? God bless you, sir, I have none to tell.’ If I had been asked to move a resolution such as has been moved by my brother, or asked to lay before you a political programme, and had three months to prepare the speech, possibly I might have said something worth hearing. To-night I am simply in the position of a humble citizen of Johannesburg, who sympathises with your grievances. As I look around in this crowded hall to-night, the words of Shakespeare come into my mind. Listening in all detail to the grievances under which this great population so advisedly cry out publicly ; listening, with my warm Irish blood in my veins, I say, with Shakespeare :—

‘ I am no orator, as Brutus is ;

* * * * *

But were I Brutus,

And Brutus Antony, there were an Antony
Would ruffle up your spirits, and put a tongue
In every word of Cæsar, that should move
The stones of Rome to rise and mutiny.’

That, gentlemen, is the feeling in my heart, but I don’t want you to misunderstand that feeling. I am not here to-night to tell you one single word that will stir up a feeling of strife in your hearts

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

towards the powers that be, or by one wave of the hand to stir up a feeling of hatred, of just hatred, that may be roused in your hearts when you consider the injustice you have suffered. I do believe this of our position in this part of the Transvaal—if we can only get to grips with the people of this country, mingle with them, make them understand what we feel, and if we could understand what they feel, matters would be straightened, and we should be brothers. That is not the position to-day. We have to-day this unfortunate condition of things, that we are ostensibly in a position of strife with the people. We have, however, no strife or quarrel with the people, and we are here to-night to endeavour to put this thing right, and do not desire to stir up strife by one single word. What we want and what we don't want you have heard from others speaking more eloquently than I; but I will tell you one or two things we don't want. These things may sound unpleasant, and I don't want to cause any one pain, but, as Daniel Defoe said, 'I am in the place where it is demanded of me to speak, and the truth I will speak, whoe'er listeth.' I will tell you what we want. When we find a patient, long-suffering population like this, assembled together to raise its little voice, and to raise its protest against injustice—and injustice justifies everything upon God's earth—when we find a population like this assembled together we expect unanimity, that those of one household would stand shoulder to shoulder. What do we find? Down in Pretoria, very busy with my own little professional work, I find from Johannesburg that men of Johannesburg are beginning to feel that they are suffering injustice of the blackest and grossest description. I turn to the press and find that hireling pens—(applause)—pens the wages of which I can trace and the objects of whose writing I know; I find hireling pens trying to belittle the honest efforts of honest men. I find one man giving us adjectives—a man for whom I have personally some respect—I find that one calls it froth, thinly-veiled rebellion; and another points to past miscarriages in the shape of public movements, and tries to persuade other men who would otherwise come forward there is nothing in it. I go to Pretoria and find—I don't want to use hard

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

adjectives—and find the papers from which we have the right to expect fair treatment and honest criticism calling the movement thinly-veiled sedition, when they know, if any man under God's blue dome knows, it is nothing of the sort. We will tell these men we don't want them. (Hear, hear.) We will tell them in the name of all that is honest, when our day comes, as it will come—we will tell every craven coward, every cur, every man who sells his conscience and his soul, that we will have none of them, and none of their employers. (Applause.) I will tell you what we don't want. We don't want the men who are thriving upon the treasures of this country. I do not say undeservedly, but thriving on the treasures placed there by a bountiful Nature, and no one begrudges it them. But we do not want those, as my brother said before, who sit upon the rail. We don't want men who stand by without partaking in the event and reserving to themselves the right to say: 'We did not do it.' Those men who sit at the back, and wait till other men have borne the heat and burden of the day—I challenge these to-night, every one knows them. We don't want those men to stand back quivering and shivering on the brink of politics, to let other people undergo the trouble and the danger. Our agitation is a constitutional one, and in it we do not want these men to stand behind. *We don't want them.* Well, now, I have told you what we do not want; at least what I don't want. I do not know whether I express the opinions of the Committee, but I told them that I would speak out what is in my own mind. I am nothing, but the people at the back of this movement to-night represent the new population; not only of the Witwatersrand, but from the extremities of the country, Klein Letaba to Lydenburg, from Lydenburg to Klerksdorp, and from Klerksdorp back again to Johannesburg. We want those people to express their wants, and to exert their utmost efforts to obtain just rights. It is fear which makes people stand apart, to leave others to form the plan of organization. Hitherto the prevailing impression was that one man could not trust another. We now want this population to have one single soul, heart, and thought, and we want that population to insist, and *insist*, and **INSIST!** by

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

every means that civilised people can adopt, to have just rights granted to them.

I believe that the Dutch population of this country is the same as in the whole of South Africa, a population amongst whom I have many friends. They are just, although they are wanting in education. Their want of education makes them prejudiced. But they are not unjust. I want you to combine, and by the force of organization to remove those prejudices, and, by the weight of argument, reason and justice, to convince them of the justice of your claims. We shall see whether this will tell or not. This meeting is a soul-inspiring omen of better days. These things are what we don't want, and what we do want. I do not wish to weary you, and weary myself, as I am, God knows, wearied enough already. The different points are already gone into by the different speakers, and I am not prepared to speak. No notice of the meeting has been given me, and I can only give expression to a few of the grievances under which we suffer. I am not here to make 'Roman holiday,' but I have made up my mind to say what I feel. One word to the old population of this country. I want them now in this, their accepted time, in this, their day of salvation, I want them to understand and hearken to my words; as one of their friends, one of their true friends, and known to them, I wish to warn them solemnly, in this the day of their salvation, that we are in earnest! I wish them to understand that we feel our wrongs, and to know that we shall have them redressed. I want them to take warning in a friendly way, not for myself, but as gathering the threads of the time. I want them to take warning of what surely must come; and to take heed—to speak with the poet—'Lest they should learn in some dark hour how much the wretched dare!' (Enthusiastic applause.)

Mr. Tudhope proposed the first resolution of the Transvaal National Union as follows:—

'That this meeting of the Transvaal National Union regards the great number of persons who have taken up their abode in this Republic, and who contribute mainly to its

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

support, as entitled to participate in its government, and consider that the right of voting for members of the Legislature and the office of President should be extended to all male white citizens of full age who have resided for two years in the State, and who occupy or own property, freehold or leasehold, to the value of £100 ; or who are earning a salary of £100 per annum. (Applause.)

He said : I am delighted by your reception of this resolution, and to see it meets with your views. Some people would call it Democratic and Radical. Let it be so. (Hear, hear.) This is a Republic, and it will be so in fact, as well as in name, when this resolution is carried by the authority of the State. (Hear, hear.) Why has the Committee selected this particular branch of our many grievances as the first resolution of the Union ? Because underlying all good government is this true precept, 'That the government of the people must be by the people for the good of the people.' (Hear, hear.) You have heard a great deal from Mr. Leonard and others as to what we propose to do in the future. There are so many grievances to be redressed and rights to be secured that it seemed difficult to the Committee to make the first selection ; but we thought it best to begin at the bottom, and lay the foundation broad and strong and secure. Every reader of history knows it to be a fact that no Government long stood the wear and tear of ordinary events that had not been based on the firm will of the people. (Hear, hear.) This Republic is based on the will, not of the people, but of a class of people. They represented the people very well in the early history of the Republic. But a great change has come over the scene. There has been a large influx of the new population. I am not at all surprised that in the early days of the goldfields the old burghers refused to give the new population the franchise. If I were asked whether an indiscriminate franchise to every man who came ought to be given, I should say, 'No.' Rather have a settled voting power than to give the franchise to the floating population that came here in the early history of the goldfields. But all this has passed away. Mining has become an industry, not a

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

speculation. It is no longer a matter of mere expectation and of wonder whether we shall succeed or not. It is a settled industry, finding support for thousands of people. These are entitled to the privileges of voting for the head of the State and members of the Legislature. (Applause.) We don't ask you to enfranchise the unintelligent or the ignorant, the idle, the worthless. We ask that Government should enfranchise those who are labouring by the sweat of their brow to develop the resources of this great country—the intelligent working man. For these reasons we have put the franchise low. I don't think there is a single man of average intelligence who is not able to earn £100 per annum—£8 a month or a little more. There are very few persons who do not occupy a house worth £100, or, say it is divided between three or four occupants, it would surely give £100 each. I think the inhabitants of the State fairly entitled to ask for political franchise and to have the same by living here for a period of two years. When I was in Capetown a few months ago a gentleman in the office of the Government asked me whether there was any tendency in the population of the Transvaal towards British rule, and I said, 'No.' He asked me why I thought so, and I replied, Because I thought if the Transvaal is given a fair share in the Government of the country they would not wish to change it from a Republic. I repeat that now. As an ardent Englishman, one who has been in the Cape Parliament and served the Crown, I say the public of the Transvaal desire to have a Republic. They wish to support and strengthen the Republic, and the only way is to lay the foundation in the hearts of the people and make it clear to them.

If we compare the franchise of the Cape, Natal, and Orange Free State, you will find that they are much on the same lines as the constitution the Committee have prepared, and the Committee has selected a simple one, which everybody can understand. A resident for two years, who occupies a house worth £100, or earning wages or salary of £100 a year (I think you will agree with me), fairly embraces every section of the community. (Hear, hear.) We are not going into details; we are not

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

legislating here to-night; but merely suggesting a few details for the guidance of legislators. Our demands are reasonable and just. In 1891, the qualification of a voter for the First Chamber and office of President was first of all the burghers, then naturalised citizens of two years' residence, who had to pay personal taxes, receive a certificate of good behaviour from the Field-Cornet, and pay a fee of £5. This is what the Committee wish to adopt, with the exception of paying a fee of £5, substituting in place thereof those earning wages of £100 a year. Is that not reasonable, I ask, gentlemen? (Shouts of 'Yes.') Why is it that the law was changed? It was because of the forthcoming Presidential election, and as the clause of 1891 would have made persons who had paid their £5 eligible to vote, fear was entertained, and it was on this account that the Volksraad passed the resolution entitling us to burgher's rights after ten years' standing. Yes, gentlemen, that was done in the Volksraad. We must appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober. These men are either intoxicated with their success or are carried away with an erroneous idea of what follows if the franchise were conferred upon the new-comers in this State. It was the duty of the community to make representations upon the subject, and carry the resolutions—I was going to say to the foot of the throne—to the Presidential chair. (Tumultuous cheers.)

Mr. W. St. John Carr, in seconding the resolution, did not consider it necessary to enter into details, which would perhaps be a repetition of previous speeches. He would summarise the justice of the Uitlanders' claim by the fact that it was based upon the right of citizens to have a voice in the government of a country and the disbursement of its revenue. There was necessity for a change in the Government, for the present state of affairs and the present manner of administration would never satisfy the new population. The first instalment of the justice the Uitlander deserved dealt out to him would be brought about by the meeting that night. (Cheers.)

Mr. W. H. Hoskins, in supporting the resolution, stated that he had been requested by the Committee to deliver a speech,

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

which, however, at that late hour he had some hesitation in doing. He cordially endorsed everything that had been said, and he would like for himself, and also on behalf of the assembly, to give expression to their appreciation of the clear, lucid, and concise manner in which the Chairman had brought this resolution before them, and to tender the Chairman their thanks for his assistance to the Committee with his advice and counsel. Now, the first, and foremost matter which he would touch upon would be this barrier of the franchise, which had been expressly designed to shut out the new population. (Hear, hear.) It was meant to shut out the worker and producer (hear, hear) from having a voice in the government of the country. In no other civilised country in the world did a similar state of things obtain as here, where the worker was totally debarred from a say in the public finances. Now, it was a duty which they owed to themselves, and to the children that came after them, to remove these disabilities. When this territory was at one time sub-divided into two republics—the South African Republic, with Potchefstroom, and the Lydenburg Republic, with Lydenburg for its capital—the qualifications for enfranchisement that existed in those two republics were very different. A six months' residential qualification in the South African Republic was all that was required, and in the Lydenburg Republic, not only was every white man conceded a full franchise, but he was furthermore given a free farm immediately upon entering the State!

The speaker next alluded to what occurred at the diamond diggings at Klipdrift on the Vaal River in 1870, when a most impolitic concession of mining privileges was granted by the South African Republic to two companies. The Government was obliged to cancel the concessions then, but they found it too late, for the diggers there had already elected a committee for their own government, and a free Republic was declared. When President Pretorius went down to restore confidence in the Pretoria Government, the diggers repudiated the latter. Eventually a basis of government was formed by which the territory of the diggers was separated from the so-called Republic; the

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

English language and currency instituted ; a local executive of three members appointed, as also a resident magistrate for the administration of justice. A digger's license of 5s. for three months was all that was asked to carry on the government of the territory. He (the speaker) would not ask for such provisions and concessions, they would be satisfied if the Pretoria Government approached them only with a little of that conciliatory disposition. (Cheers.) The words of an American writer should be remembered, and the Government at the capital should give heed to the fact that before they were citizens they were men ! (Applause.) He (the speaker) trusted that those present would recognise the duties and responsibility of their manhood. (Cheers.) At present they were simply taxed, and taxation *must* go hand in hand with representation ; therefore their first and foremost requirement was the franchise. They would look forward to the day when, in the words of the Laureate, they would—

‘ Ring in the valiant man and free,
The larger heart, the kindlier hand ;
Ring out the darkness of the land,
Ring in the Christ that is to be.’

Mr. H. Solomon, rising to propose the fourth resolution, said : Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I beg to propose the following resolution :—

‘ That copies of the resolutions passed at this meeting, together with the constitution of the Transvaal National Union, be forwarded to Government.’

Gentlemen, at this late hour, and with the exhaustive speeches delivered this evening, now that I have to speak on this resolution, it will not be expected that I shall address you at any length. Whatever your opinions may be, your one duty is the maintenance of the independence of this Republic. Let the people of the Republic understand that is what you insist upon, and I believe you will have considerably more support from the burghers of this country than we at the present moment obtain.

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

Gentlemen, some remarks have been made at this meeting regarding certain newspapers of Johannesburg. Now that these newspapers have seen how moderate we are, I believe we shall now obtain their unqualified support. I say we require it. It would be a great mistake to go forth that Johannesburg is to a certain extent divided. It is no use for us to say we don't care to get the support of the *Standard and Diggers' News* and the *Mining Argus*. Every support is of the utmost value, and therefore I say I have no doubt, now that those newspapers have seen how moderate are our demands, I trust they will give us their support. A remark was made by Mr. J. W. Leonard that the moneyed capitalists were not here to-night. (Mr. Leonard: 'I said we wanted them.') Still, we have not got them. However, with all great questions of reform, it is not the capitalists who lead the way, it is what I may call the ordinary inhabitants, and the capitalists come in afterwards. Gentlemen, I don't agree with inflammatory speeches. I think the only possible way of getting our grievances redressed is to work in a moderate way—let the Government and the people of the country understand that we only want justice meted out to us. Let us have one or two meetings like this, and express ourselves moderately; let the members of the Volksraad thoroughly understand, and let us urge our claims upon their strong sense of human justice. Over in Pretoria it was said to me:—'The people want too much. Those people cannot expect after twenty-four hours in the country to receive the same rights as the people who fought the Kaffirs, and were brought up in the country.' Now I think that we should nevertheless have a right in assisting in the government of the country. The Boer has an idea that if we have the same privileges and rights as they, their day is past; and that the whole weight of our influence would be used against them. Let it be understood that this is not what we wish. We wish to make this a progressive country, and we wish to show that if we get the privileges we are entitled to we shall make this a great country. This you must to-night put forth to the world in unmistakable language. The Union that has been formed to-

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

night somewhat resembles the Afrikander Bond, formed some years ago, and it is practically the same. The Dutch people in the Colony complained of grievances which they wished to have redressed, and for this the Afrikander Bond was formed. First it was sneered at and treated with contempt, but now the whole population, including the English-speaking portion, recognise that they have to reckon with this power. We have now in this country formed a similar institution, which in time will have to be reckoned with. There is one difference between the Bond and the Transvaal National Union, and that is, that the Bond was formed by the illiterate, comparatively uneducated portion of the Colonial population; but here the Union has been brought about by the more enlightened English-speaking part of the community. I believe that the time will come when the Boers will recognise and acknowledge the importance of the Union, and when it will become a power in the land. (Cheers.)

Mr. W. P. Fraser, in seconding the resolution, said this was the right thing and the only thing to do, and it was a constitutional way of doing it. They were perhaps aware that there was a rule of order that no memorial or petition could be sent into the Volksraad from any assemblies whatever unless it be sent in a full day before the Volksraad meets. That deprived this meeting from communicating the voice of that meeting to Volksraad direct, but they took the other constitutional way, that was to ask Government to communicate it to Volksraad. (Applause.) As some of them were aware, about a month ago Volksraad, by resolution, took away the right which some of the voters had previously enjoyed. When this was clearly put before Government, he had not the least doubt they would see it in the same light as they did, and restore to those voters their just rights. They (the Government) would see it right and expedient to give to all of them, who contributed so largely to the revenue of this country, a fair share in arranging the way that the money should be spent. (Applause.)

This resolution was also adopted unanimously.

Mr. Tudhope then put the fourth resolution to the meeting,

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

which was also carried unanimously. Before separating, he reminded them that funds would be required to carry on the work of the Union; arrangements had been made to have a collection as they left the room. The Committee would be happy to receive cheques from those desirous of giving same. Mr. James Hay was the treasurer. They had enough funds to go on with, he was glad to say. It was very necessary and desirable, however, to establish branches of the Union in every town in the Republic, organizations, secretaries, and local Committees to be formed, so that every grievance would be brought to the Committee. He need hardly remind them that memorials would be prepared and frequent meetings of the kind would be carried on. It would not be advisable to dissolve the meeting. Therefore, it would be better to adjourn it until next Saturday night, when he hoped to see them all again. (Cheers.)

A vote of thanks to the chair ended the proceedings, and the meeting quietly dispersed.

EXTRACTS

From leading articles in the 'Standard and Diggers' News.'

AUGUST 22ND, 1892.

'DAY BREAKS.'

Last week there were suggestions of dawn in Johannesburg's political horizon, and we hailed them with hope; for the first time in the history of the Rand, men of position, representative of all classes save the working man, came forward and gave voice to the grievances the Uitlander population has against the Government. Since then daybreak has succeeded the first morning glimmer, and to-day Johannesburg basks in the warm sun of political agitation. After some five years, unity of purpose marks the people and has brought them together for a common object, and at last there is some prospect of presenting a united front at Pretoria and of making ourselves felt and our wishes understood. For that purpose there was formed in the Amphitheatre on Saturday evening a Transvaal National Union, whose objects are 'to maintain the independence of this Republic, to obtain by all constitutional means equal rights for all citizens of this State, and to obtain the redress of all grievances.'

* * * * *

The great thing is that Johannesburg men who are entitled to our respect have come forward, given cohesion of life in Johannesburg, promulgated a plan for redressing admitted grievances, and summarised the situation of the new population in the land for the information, guidance, and benefit of Government. It was suggested at Saturday's meeting that the *Standard and Diggers' News* was not in sympathy with grievances of the

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

Uitlanders, that it had pooh-poohed the movement for representation and reform, that it has tried to belittle the voice of the people, that it was influenced in its judgment by personal dictation from without, and that for particular purposes. We can afford to feel amused at this misrepresentation, coming as it does from men who themselves so assiduously hover behind the columns of other organs having views more in keeping with their own private objects. But we can do more than that. We can throw back the charge as unfounded and unfair. What we have done has been to urge that Johannesburg should make itself heard through sound and acceptable channels, to recommend moderation in doing so, to urge that the community should see to making its platform respectable, that it should appear there as one man, that it should forego all frothing at the mouth, and above all, that it should go about its business for once in a dignified way, and cease making a noise and nothing more. And whose influence, we should like to know, has effected these things, if it has not been the influence of the *Standard and Diggers' News*?

* * * * *

For the rest, no sane man will pretend to doubt that this is the dawn of that better day in the Transvaal when phases of oppression must fade away before the fire of Public Opinion, or to deny himself the hope that the Boer, taking heed of the temper of the times, will put off his fear and trembling, and, understanding better who is who and what is what, will call the Briton brother—or, at any rate, cousin: which were better than stranger, *Uitlander*, and suspect. What he shall call us, and how he shall regard us, depends, however, largely on ourselves. We have been moderate and patient for years. Let us not throw all patience, policy, and tact all at once to the four winds of heaven, lest the fraternising and brotherhood come only by the spilling of blood, through confusion and red ruin.

JUNE 3RD, 1893.

Then everything was in favour of a graceful act; *then* in a discreet sentence or two the whole sting might have been taken out of the present situation, and the Uitlander's frame of mind might have been very different indeed. *Now* our rights must be wrung from the close-fisted Boer, and he must lose prestige with all people as a jealous creature that loves not right or righteousness. Unfortunately, he still believes—or is persuaded thereto by foolish councillors that palaver about high places—that the new force that permeates the land—the thousands that to-day grow angry because of the Boer arrogance and autocratic bearing; the demand for Republicanism of a better sort; for 'representation with taxation'—is an insignificant circumstance that can be ignored in the interim or suppressed for all time. This is natural enough; indeed, knowing what we do of Boer history, we have all along made liberal allowance for the tendency to exclusiveness and absolutism that marks the independence-loving Boer to-day. But the lease of life which the National Union has already enjoyed and renewed again on Saturday evening is proof enough for us—and we were very careful to demand it—that this new force is no feeble thing, that it will be unwise of the Boer to trifle with it, that a coherent demand for reform has been made which is not to be pooh-poohed. Something must be done, and that soon. We say this in full knowledge of the Boer's case, remembering that he has not been without reason in analysing the New Advent before approving it and incorporating it in his Constitution. But the time for temporising has slipped away, and the warning must at last be sounded—AND BY THE *Standard and Diggers' News*, THE FRIEND AND DEFENDER OF THE BOER—that he strives in his exclusive efforts after a false and impossible independence. His true independence is not in any way threatened from within, he himself imperils it by standing to his attempt after a dual Constitution and a differentiated franchise. 'To some of you who obey the laws of the land and are trustworthy people, I shall give something.' To which we

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

are able, conscientiously and consistently, to say to-day that all HAVE obeyed the laws of the land, most are 'trustworthy,' and that the endeavour to select a favoured few from the masses for political emancipation is to attempt an imprudent and impossible thing. Whatever is given must be given with an equal hand, while yet there is the disposition to blend. For the tide is not to be stemmed by half-measures, nor the demand for justice satisfied by mere sops to a hungry Cerberus.

EXTRACT

From the 'Standard and Diggers' News,'

SEPTEMBER 12TH, 1892.

‘CIVIS ROMANUS SUM.’

TRANSVAAL NATIONAL UNION.

FROM STRENGTH TO STRENGTH.

FROST WITHOUT—FIRE WITHIN.

THAT INTERVIEW.

HIS HONOUR’S MESSAGE.

REJECTED AND DESPISED.

‘WE WON’T WAIT.’

TWO REAL LIVE BURGHERS.

WHO PEPPER PRETORIA.

ESSELEN’S ANATHEMA.

THE CLOTH ON CUSTOMS.

DREW’S DIATRIBE.

BARNATO BRISTLES.

SCHEEPER’S SPAN SIMILE.

A GREAT GATHERING.

WE GO TO THE BURGHERS.

From out of the cold wind of Saturday night the members of the Transvaal National Union congregated in their beloved Circus once more. The Tree in Hyde Park and the Lions in

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

Trafalgar Square have perhaps gathered around them larger numbers, but never men more determined in will and more stentorian in voice than the Unionists that assembled in the local Acropolis on Saturday night. The clamorous enthusiasm evinced at the previous three meetings was completely outdone by the peaceful uproar of this last assembly. There were many things which evoked the sturdy shout. Hitherto the Uitlanders' wail had not officially or formally reached the Government ear ; but last week it was carried to the Capital by the most popular of the People's advocates, Mr. Tudhope, only, however, to be slighted. The pettish rebuff and angry, arbitrary attitude of the governors upon that occasion formed matter for the-always-legally-and-constitutionally-expressed indignation of the governed. In addition to this, from off the Forum there spake unto the people two men of the sect that have withheld justice from the strangers. But, *mirabile dictu*, they repudiated the method of their kinsmen ; they stretched forth their hands and hearts in friendship and brotherly love. Mr. Advocate Esselen—tell it not in Potchefstroom—was even effusive in his expressed desire to accord the Uitlander all he asks for, and Field-Cornet Scheepers with his homely similes, and his imprecations upon the powers that be, was a dish that tickled the political palate of the audience immensely. Furthermore, new orators made their *debuts*. The Hon. B. I. Barnato, in response to a clamorous shout for 'Barnie,' beamed on the assembly for a while, and the Rev. Mr. Drew, avowedly as a civilian only, but in garb anticipatory of episcopal contingencies, gave the political parson's opinion. Statistics, which had formed the dull feature of the previous meeting, were happily absent ; people are mostly bored by 'rithmetic, especially on Saturday nights, and it gave them more pleasure to hear Mr. Scheepers relate the legend of his refractory ox, and bring in the Head of the State in naughty comparison, than to listen to eloquent animadversions on the price of pickled pork.

Amongst those present on the platform were :—Messrs. John Tudhope (Chair), J. Hay, W. H. Rogers, Advocate Auret, Advocate Esselen, C. Leonard, E. P. Solomon, W. St. John Carr,

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

W. P. Fraser, H. Solomon, W. H. Adler, J. Jeppe, jun., D. Holt, F. C. Dumat, W. H. Hosken, W. F. Lance, W. E. Hudson, B. I. Barnato, W. J. Scheepers, and R. A. Bettington.

Shortly after the appointed hour the Chairman opened the meeting.

Mr. Tudhope, on rising, was greeted with loud applause. He said: Citizens of Johannesburg, it is gratifying to see another large assemblage here to-night to carry on the business put into our hands to do. I do not propose to occupy your time at great length this evening, but will just briefly indicate the programme advised by the Committee for this evening. I desire first, however, to announce, in connection with the Committee, the names of the following gentlemen who have joined us during the past week. They are: Messrs. Geo. Goch, D. Pullinger, W. P. Taylor, J. Stroyan, V. Wolff, J. H. Leslie, B. M. Woollan, R. A. Bettington, H. B. Marshall, W. H. S. Bell, S. Edkins, and H. B. Papenfus. I had also hoped to be in a position to announce that the representative members of the working classes would have joined us to-night, but I am not able to do so. The position of this Committee is not in any sense representative of sectional interests. Although there are on the Committee members of the Chamber of Mines, Chamber of Commerce, and of the various other representative bodies, they are not there in their capacity as representing those bodies. They are there as individuals of the State, there as representing taxpayers of the State, as representing in their own persons the whole community for reform. Another matter, gentlemen, in no sense can this National Union be taken as antagonistic to the Labour Union. On the contrary, I think it is perfectly proper labour should organize as well as capital, for business and other purposes. It is most desirable all these sections should be represented upon this Committee, but not simply as representatives of those bodies. Now, with regard to the proceedings, we shall first read an abbreviated narrative of what occurred between the deputation which went to interview his Honour the President in Pretoria. We shall afterwards read a message from his Honour the President to the people of

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

Johannesburg, and, on the conclusion of the reading of that document, the first resolution will be proposed respecting the franchise; then a second resolution on the tariff, and proposals to complete their organizations; and, thirdly, a resolution dealing with registration in the Field-Cornet's books. Now, gentlemen, before proceeding to call upon the speakers who will bring forward these resolutions, I have one or two observations to make. The first I wish to make is with regard to the position of this Union. There has been a great deal of criticism in the local press, Orange Free State and Natal papers, about the position we have taken up, and a good many insinuations made that we have been the mere puppets of others for political purposes.

It has been said we are being used for some other unrevealed purpose; that we have been put forward in order that Swazieland may be given over by the Imperial Government; that we are the cat's paws in the hand of other men for whom we are to obtain some advantages for the people in the western part of the Cape Colony. We know this is all bunkum; and I desire to-night to emphasise the position taken by this Union, which is an entirely spontaneous movement of the people of this State. There are no outside influences at work here. We have taken steps, natural under the circumstances, to press the situation on the Volksraad and to make our grievances heard, but we do not want to go outside the State for help. We want to fight it out on the ground of right and justice, and we look for help only to the people of this State. As to the question of the annexation of Swazieland, I read an article, a clear and able but very specious article, in one of the Pretoria newspapers, *The Press*. The article in question seems to be inspired or written semi-officially, although I cannot, of course, say whether it is so or not. What does the article propose? It says, in substance, 'It's very fine for you fellows there in Johannesburg to hold meetings and make speeches; but what have you done for the independence of the State?' Then it suggests action, and proposes that we should get up a monster petition to the English Government—Downing

POLITICAL 'SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Street, I believe they call it—and ask the Imperial Government to sanction the annexation of Swazieland to the Transvaal. Now, gentlemen, it seems to me that the writer of that article has put the cart before the horse. (Laughter.) I object to such a petition on two grounds. First, I don't believe in a petition to Downing Street; and secondly, if we were to sign that petition we would sign it not as citizens of this State, but as people who are dissatisfied with the existing state of things in this Republic. If the authorities at home were to make inquiries into the status of the people who signed the petition, they would find that we are people who have not been trusted with the franchise in this country. No, gentlemen, let those who advise us thus first remedy our grievances, give us the rights and privileges of citizens, associate us with the other inhabitants in the government of the country. Let the Government be an enlightened Government, a Government which will not make Swazieland a nest of jobbery, but will rule the country with justice and fairness; then a shout will go up, not only from Johannesburg, but from the whole Transvaal—'Annex Swazieland.' (Loud applause.) Under existing circumstances, however, we are not justified to ask the Imperial Government for the annexation of Swazieland. Let our voice be heard in the administration of this country, in the adjustment of its internal arrangements; let this be done, and let the country become a strong and liberal State. Until this is done we must hold carefully aloof from all external agitation. That is a duty we have to maintain. I have been asked by two of the candidates to join their committees. Well, I have said: 'My friends, I am in the position of Queen Elizabeth's gunner, who, when asked why he did not fire a salute, said, "Well, your Majesty, I have nineteen good reasons." "Well," she said, "what is the first reason?" He replied, "I have no gunpowder." "Oh!" she said, "I will do without the other eighteen."' Gentlemen, I have said I have no vote. I have eighteen other reasons, and that is the reason why we hold ourselves entirely aloof from this electioneering campaign. (Applause.) I shall now call on the Secretary to read an abbreviated

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

narrative of what occurred between the deputation and the President and Vice-President.

The Secretary then read the following :

REPORT OF DEPUTATION.

The interview took place in Pretoria on Friday, 2nd September, 1892. The deputation consisted of Messrs. John Tudhope, James Hay, W. H. Rogers, J. G. Auret, J. F. E. Pistorius, James W. Leonard, and Charles Leonard.

The President, after shaking hands with the deputation, indicated that he wished them to proceed. He stated that he was speaking unofficially.

Mr. Tudhope thereupon stated that those present had come as a deputation to discuss questions which were agitating the general public in Johannesburg, and briefly reviewed the question of the franchise rights and the incidence of taxation, illustrating the fairness and justice of the proposition that the new-comers who would give their certain guarantee for obedience to the law, and all who had a stake in the country were entitled to have a vote. He pointed out that this would be a source of strength to the Republic. On the question of taxation he pointed out that the new-comers felt that the incidence of taxation was not fair and should be reconsidered, and more especially the Customs duty imposed by the recent Act passed by the Volksraad would bear most heavily on the new-comers; that there were many mines which could barely pay their way; while there were many mines, which, if the burden were reduced, might possibly be made to pay; that the result of undue taxation might possibly be that many weaker mines would shut down; thus many men would go away and there would be a smaller market open to the producers of the country. He briefly touched upon the administration of justice and a municipal government.

The President thereupon apparently thought he was going to close the interview and addressed the deputation, informing them that it had always been his policy to unite the two sections of the people, and that he would continue in this policy; that the

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Presidential election was now pending in which there were three candidates, and that any one of these three candidates who should give a pledge for the granting of the franchise would be rejected by the people. He stated that what was sought for in the franchise would, if granted, deprive his people of their sole privilege; he claimed that in granting the Second Chamber he had made a great concession in favour of the new-comers, and that he had reduced the period which must elapse prior to obtaining political rights by the new-comers; he counselled the deputation to go back to Johannesburg, cease to hold public meetings, and be satisfied with his policy of uniting the people.

The President was somewhat excited in speaking.

General Smit thereupon, also being apparently under the impression that the interview was closed, said that it had given him great pleasure to attend this meeting, as meetings of this character could only tend to produce a good understanding.

The deputation, however, not being satisfied with the answer given, Mr. J. W. Leonard rose, speaking through the interpreter. Mr. Leonard, as Mr. Tudhope had done, assured the President that the policy which he announced of uniting the people was the only thing that lay at our hearts; that we could not go away and say we were satisfied—that would be false if we did so.

Mr. C. Leonard controverted the proposition that we wished to take away the only right of the President's old burghers, and claimed that a Republican Government could only be carried on by the representation of all classes of the community; that we did not seek to take away the privileges of the old burghers, but only to share them under certain conditions. *He stated that in regard to the alleged danger to the old burghers from the granting of the franchise he was prepared to concede that it might possibly be better not to grant the right to vote in the Presidential election at the present time,* inasmuch as the votes counted in the aggregate, wherever*

* NOTE.—This offer to forego the vote for Presidential elections if we got the vote for the First Volksraad was promptly acted on in a characteristic spirit. In 1893 the Uitlander was expressly excluded from ever getting the vote for the President, while his chance of getting the vote for the Volksraad was finally destroyed.

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

the voter might be resident, but that in regard to the vote for the First Chamber this difficulty could not possibly exist, for the simple reason that the new-comers were all congregated in one or two districts of the country, and that in electing members for the Chamber which held the purse-strings of the country, they would still be in a minority and the old burghers in a vast majority ; that this constitutional right would remove a grievance and source of dissatisfaction, although the new-comers were still in a minority in the House, but that there would be no legitimate cause for complaint, there being a representative to speak in the Volksraad and make known to the country what their real wants are. He pointed out further to the President that the people of Johannesburg felt that the powers of the Second Chamber were so limited as practically to amount to an exclusion from all the more important functions of the Government ; that it would be wiser to go back to the old Grondwet, and in any case the representation which had been asked for was a representation in all the functions of Government. He also pointed out that, when the Second Chamber was established, the Volksraad in the same year increased the period of probation to ten years for the right to vote for a member of the First Chamber, and fourteen years for the right to sit in the First Chamber, and that this, practically, amounted to exclusion for life of all the business men who were now established in the country. This was felt as a great grievance. He respectfully assured the President that the desire was only for union, and to be law-abiding subjects of the Republic, and that while the method of those represented was to remove distrust and discontent, his method of depriving the new-comers of the vote would perpetuate their discontent.

The President during these statements got very excited several times, and on one occasion said : ‘ Well, why didn’t they then leave the country ? ’

To this Mr. Leonard replied that they could not be expected to do so, as everything they had in the wide world was vested here.

During one of his agitated moments the President said : ‘ Well, why don’t they say at once that they reject my proposition ? ’

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. Leonard pointed out that there was no proposition before them ; he had merely requested them to go home and be satisfied, and hold no more meetings.

Mr. Pistorius next addressed the President, and pointed out how the taxation measures of the recent session bore unduly on the mining industry and the new-comers ; that the bulk of the revenue was already derived from those people, and that great danger existed of the people being unable to live and carry on their business under the burden of taxation.

The President during the course of this discussion stated that he was compelled to put on the taxation, as prior to its imposition it was found that there was a monthly deficit of from £30,000 to £40,000. It was pointed out to him that at the time the tax was put on there was a surplus of £200,000 in the Treasury. He stated this was the balance of £600,000, and that the £400,000 had been swept away by the monthly deficiency aforesaid. He argued that the law made no distinction in taxation between the old burgher and the new-comer.

The deputation admitted that in theory it did not, but in practice it did, because the articles selected for taxation were those articles which were required and had to be consumed by the new-comer in large quantities, while the articles which were used by the old burghers were taxed very lightly indeed.

The President grew angry at this statement, and said he could not help it if the exigencies of business resulted in throwing a heavier burden on the new-comer than on the old. He was very excited and avowed a protectionist policy in effect, by stating he was going to encourage the production of Transvaal produce, and that there was a great prejudice against buying the produce of the Transvaal. He illustrated this by recalling an instance where he was present and saw a man buy a rotten ham of European production in preference to a sound Transvaal ham, simply because the rotten one had been produced in Europe. He stated that on a previous occasion he had, when the famine threatened us, suspended the duties, and would do so again if occasion arose.

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

The deputation assured him that this was unsatisfactory, and that the duties were not only protective but prohibitive in character, and that the necessaries of life which could not be produced in the Transvaal had been unduly and heavily taxed.

Part of this conversation took place between Mr. Tudhope and the President, and between Mr. Pistorius and the President.

Mr. Auret, next addressed himself to the administration of justice, and pointed out the necessity of having courts more frequently in Johannesburg.

The President replied: 'I should like to see a court sitting there every month, and I ordered frequent circuits a long time ago.' He didn't say why his orders had not been carried out.

Mr. C. Leonard then asked the Government to take into consideration the question of placing the names of new-comers on the Field-Cornet's lists. He stated that the law required the new-comer, under a penalty, to report himself within fourteen days to the Field-Cornet; that the Field-Cornet in Johannesburg had a few hundred names on his list and was surrounded by many thousands of people; that he never took any trouble to acquaint the public with the fact that they must register; that he never prosecuted anybody for breaking the law; that there was a widespread impression amongst the new-comers that if they filled in papers for the purpose of paying their taxes this constituted registration; and that now, having learnt that they must register themselves, they proceeded to the Field-Cornet's for that purpose, and were informed that they must pay a fine of 30s. Relief was asked in this, that those persons who made an affidavit stating the time when they came here and who produced proof of having paid their personal taxes, should be placed upon the Field-Cornet's lists as from the date of their arrival.

General Smit seemed impressed with the fairness of the proposition, and promised to do what he could to give relief.

The President also stated that a memorial should be made on the subject for presentation to the Volksraad. He said he could not break the law, but would give attention to memorials.

In reply, Mr. Leonard pointed out that, although in theory

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

every person was supposed to know the law, Johannesburg was such an exceptional case, and it was under the circumstances a fair one to give relief to, and that great discontent was felt that a fine of 30s. should be imposed, to say nothing about the loss of time, when a person claiming to be registered had already been in the country some time ; he also stated that a number of persons here alleged that they reported themselves to Field-Cornet Du Toit, but that the books were not to be found, so that persons who had registered themselves were deprived of the benefits thereunder.

Then ensued an irregular conversation between General Smit and Mr. Charles Leonard, also between the President and several members of the deputation, in which both the President and Vice-President became very much excited.

There is, however, no reason to report on this occasion what passed then, the foregoing being a fair narrative of the most important points which were discussed.

The Chairman (continuing) said : You have heard read what has occurred between the deputation and the President and Vice-President. We went there at the invitation of these gentlemen and for the express purpose of interchanging our views. You see what the result of the interchange of views has been. (Laughter.) It is quite evident that our deputation made a great and strong impression upon the mind of his Honour the President. Not only did he speak of it to gentlemen who interviewed him after our departure, but on the following day he met one of our Committee, who was there on other business, and he desired to use him as a medium of sending a message in reply to the people of Johannesburg. The message is as follows :

MESSAGE FROM HIS HONOUR THE PRESIDENT TO THE PEOPLE OF JOHANNESBURG.

1. In view of the forthcoming elections, the claim made by the deputation for the extension of the franchise to the new population is untimely. No candidate for the Presi-

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

dency can raise the issue with any hope of success, and if raised then such candidate would thereby forfeit all chance of being elected by the burghers.

2. His Honour has always kept in view the blending of the two people into an united race, but this must of a necessity be a somewhat slow process. To open the door unreservedly for the admission of the new population would mean the abolition of the rights of the old burghers in the country, inasmuch as the new-comers are in the majority. In America the liberal provision for the admission to the full political rights of new-comers is not attended by the same dangers, the thousands who enter that country having no influence to disturb the rights of the old residents, who are numbered in millions; whereas here, the old burghers, being numbered in hundreds, at once become the minority, and lose all their political power. To obviate this the admission of the new-comers to full burgher rights must be regulated with great care; but in view of meeting the exigencies of the case, as far as it may be done with safety to the rights of the old burghers of the country, the President would be in favour of a plan that would during the course of law, which is fixed at ten years, within that period from time to time admit of the names of trustworthy burghers being laid before the Volksraad with the view to such being admitted to the qualifications required for membership in the First Volksraad.

Mr. John Tudhope, continuing, said: This message was received with the respect which I trust we shall always show to utterances from the head of the State. (Hear, hear.) It was most carefully considered, and a copy of it was sent to his Honour to ascertain if it properly expressed his views, and it came back with his approval, and was now read to the people of Johannesburg. I will now call upon Mr. Charles Leonard to address you upon it. (Applause.)

Mr. Charles Leonard (who was received with loud cheers) said: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I think it is a wise thing to

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

change your speakers as much as possible, and I should not have appeared before you to-night had it not been for the fact that I was one of the deputation to Pretoria. I have consented to speak simply because I was one of the deputation. I think it augurs well for the future, and is a happy omen to my mind to have amongst us, on the platform, an old burgher of the country, and also an official of the country. (Hear, hear, and cries of 'Name.') I believe it is Mr. Scheepers, who has the honour of being elected Field-Cornet for one of the districts, and I have no doubt he makes a good Field-Cornet. (Hear, hear.) The resolution which I have to submit arises partly out of the visit of the deputation to his Honour the President, and I will read it to you:—

‘That, while recognising with satisfaction the recognition by his Honour the President, in his message to the people of Johannesburg, of the fact that the new population are in the majority in the State, and of the principle that they are entitled to electoral rights, this Union regards the proposal to admit only some of these citizens to burgher rights by a slow process of selection as contrary to sound Republican principles, impracticable in working, and as failing to satisfy the reasonable requirements of the people.’

If you will pardon me for a moment diverging, I would say a word as to what fell from General Smit in Pretoria, when he was in an excited state. In anger sometimes the truth comes out. In conversation with the General, he said that behind this movement was political intrigue and matters affecting Swaziland. (Cries of ‘No.’) I gave him my assurance and my word of honour that there was nothing of the kind. I ask you to say no. We are not traitors to the flag of this country, and are not conspiring against it, but seek to strengthen the republican institutions of this country. (Applause.) I shall now proceed to deal with the matter of the resolution. The President, in speaking, said—possibly there was more in it than was intended to meet the eye—that no candidate for the Presidency would dare to promise the franchise, that it would endanger his chance of re-election. I

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

pointed out that this re-election was in the hands of the burghers of this country, and had nothing to do with it, that there was no desire to take away the rights of the burghers, but that we simply desired to share those rights upon true republican principles. I may state that what struck me here was that nothing was said or urged by his Honour the President on the ground of our not being entitled to the franchise, but that we, getting those rights and being in the majority, would take away their privileges. I pointed out that instead of being a source of weakness, we should be a source of strength; pointed out that, whilst perhaps it might be unwise to ask for a vote for the Presidential election, with regard to the First Chamber we wanted a vote; that we did not want dummy votes, but we wanted a part in everything coming under the science of Government. I pointed out that, according to the distribution at present in force, that we would send only a fourth of the members to the Volksraad, that the old members would still be in the vast majority, but we would be there with our representatives to imbue the Volksraad with the true sentiments of the community. I ask you whether those views were sound or not. (Applause.) Let us now analyse the President's proposal. I think, in the message to the people of Johannesburg, the President has admitted two great principles, principles which fully justify the support of the National Union. He admitted we were in the majority, and admitted by his proposition of selection that we are entitled to some alterations in the present law of the franchise. The question before us is whether we as a Union can accept the President's proposals. ('No, no,' and loud applause.) I say it is a proposition that cannot obtain a hearing in a republic, where the people are imbued with republican sentiment, and is opposed to the true principles of republicanism. It is one which, if accepted, would paralyse the highest and best interests in us, and it is probably intended to lead to disunion amongst ourselves. I say, No, we will not have it, and intend standing shoulder to shoulder. (Loud applause.) If this process of selection were accepted, it would be found that sycophant jelly-fishes and hunters after concessions will be selected, and

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

thus the very thing held out as a lure to cease agitating would be the very thing to put new chains upon us and our liberties. (Cheers.) I say that if we were to take the proposal seriously, the last state would be worse than the first. We are suffering under two things to-day. The political disability under the circumstances as altered by the present Government is rankling deeply in our hearts, and then the sins of administration—— but I had better say no more. (A voice: ‘Speak out,’ and laughter.) I think, gentlemen, it is our business to attack incompetent administration and its abuses. It is our duty to teach the burghers of this country that the iniquities of which we complain are suffered by them as well. I decline to accept the Government as representing either the burghers or ourselves. (Loud cheers.) The reason why I say that is, that it is five years since the burghers were called upon to elect a Government, and in these five years changes have taken place which fully justify our demands. Government persistently ignores these demands, but it would be a very poor compliment to the burghers generally to say that they supported the Government in this. No, gentlemen, I believe strongly in the sense of justice and the common sense of the burghers. It is to this sense of justice that we must appeal, and this can only be done by the widest publication of our wants and wishes. (Loud applause.)

Mr. W. H. Rogers, who seconded the resolution, said: You have all heard of the interview which the deputation of this Union had with his Honour the President and with the Vice-President. My impression of that interview amounts to this: ‘I am very pleased to see you; go back to Johannesburg and be very good boys; wait till I have been re-elected, and then I will see what I can do for you.’ I may also say the public of Johannesburg has been misinformed as to who sought the interview. The Union did not seek the interview with the President, but the President sought the interview with the Union. Well, we went, we saw, and I think we conquered to a certain extent. (Hear, hear.) At all events, we scored in our demeanour and in our quiet firmness. (Hear, hear.) I think, gentlemen, we have

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

conquered, if it is something for the President of this State to admit that we are in a majority and that we are entitled to electoral rights. (Applause.) But we cannot admit, we cannot accept, his idea of admitting us to these rights. It is opposed to sound republican principles. What we want and what we are striving for is the government of the people by the people—(hear, hear)—and not by a chosen few. I may ask who is to elect those chosen few, who is to make the selection of these reliable men? The whole of the State is to-day suffering under the misgovernment and rapacity of a chosen few, and this will go on until we have gained our point. We acknowledge with satisfaction what the President has said; but we must not rest here, we must not be satisfied till we have reached the goal of our ambition, the government of the people by the voice of the people, and by the people only. This we ask for, and this only will satisfy the reasonable requirements of the people. The President proposes to favour the selection of a certain number of reliable men each year. What!!! This from one who is always harping on his desire to cement the old and new population, but who in my opinion has done the most to cause disunion. (Hear, hear.) Who has only lately added to our burdens by increased taxation? What! This from a President of a Republic. Is this just? Is this right? (No.) Is this in accord with the possibilities of sound republican government? I say ten thousand times no. Away with such a proposal. Away with the idea of ruling the masses by a selected chosen few. Again I say, who is to make the selection, and who is to decide on the reliability of the chosen few? Not those who sit at the seat of Government, and who have hitherto turned a deaf ear to all our requests, and who would do so to all eternity, if they had the selection of the chosen few. No, we cannot and will not agree to this, and though we have an arduous task before us, let us not be daunted in our work. We are doing a great work, and no great work is ever accomplished without unwearied perseverance. Let us be firm and decided, quiet but resolute, confident in our integrity to work for the good of the people, and thus preserve the independence of the Republic, and success will before

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

long crown our efforts. (Cheers.) Let us not give way one iota of the principle of Republicanism, which professes equality as its very root and foundation—the ruling of the people by the people, thus showing that our Union is a true one, earnest and anxious for the welfare and liberties of the whole of the population. (Applause.) We seek this, for we know our rulers are surrounded by bad advisers, men who act from selfish motives only, and who have caused the mismanagement of public matters and public money. We seek this, for we ask what is right. We ask what is just, and we ask that the many shall not be misgoverned for the benefit of a chosen few. (Hear, hear.) One of our local papers has been raising side issues, such as the handing over Swazieland, and for this Union to take part in such work. Then, again, the sanitary state of the town is dangled before our eyes, and it says also that we are the tools for doing the work of other governments and politicians. Now, on behalf of the Committee of the Union, I say that we shall not go away one inch from the objects of the Union. The sanitary matters we will leave to the Sanitary Board; though, forming part of the large population of this town, we shall do what we can to help the Board in its endeavours for the improvement in local matters. (Hear, hear.) I deny emphatically that we are or have been influenced by any one or any government outside of the State. It is our intention to work away quietly, not seeking outside help, but trusting to the rights of our cause, strong in our belief that justice will at last prevail, and our reasonable requirements be acceded to. (Loud cheers.)

The Chairman then put the first resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. St. John Carr said: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, before I read the second resolution, which I have been appointed by the Committee to propose to-night, it will be necessary and important that I shall first recall the course of recent events to your mind, in order that you may understand the reason the Committee have decided to suggest another step to you to-night. You have all followed with great interest, and, I am sure, with great sympathy,

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

the meetings held a few weeks back to see what should be done to bring about a better state of affairs here. Since then we have formed ourselves into a National Union, with specific objects, and those objects have been clearly defined in our constitution. We then proceeded to formulate, after due deliberation and making allowances for all circumstances, certain two requests—one with regard to the franchise, and the other with regard to the oppressive Customs' tariff, which comes into operation on the 1st October. Those claims have been laid respectively before the Government, and we have shown to demonstration the justice of our claims to the franchise, and the injustice of the burdens we shall suffer under the new Customs' law. We pointed out that these increased taxes would grind the face of the poor and hard-working majority. Our proceedings have been followed and carefully discussed, and if we are to judge from newspaper comments and private writings, what we have asked is fair and reasonable ; but the Government, which we have approached, has practically, from their replies, turned a deaf ear to our earnest and moderate appeals. It is abundantly clear that the Government has failed to recognise the situation. But supposing they had done so, do you think anything would have been done to satisfy our demands? No! Now, it would be a novel experience for us who have lived long in the land to find that when Government has made up its mind to do a thing, that anything would lie in the way. Our experience has been that the ways and means and the necessary authority have always been forthcoming when Government required them for doing anything they wished to do.

We may therefore assume that Government does not want to do anything for us, and we may be sure that if it were otherwise the rights we ask for would have been granted long ago. That is the reason why we shall appeal to the burghers who elect the Government to exert themselves on our behalf. We intend to rouse the country from end to end. (Loud cheers.) To get them to listen to and understand and appreciate all we have to say. (Cheers.) The true state of affairs must be demonstrated, we

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

must break down the barriers of misrepresentation which have grown up all around us, and I say that we shall then have a union, and a right understanding between all the inhabitants of this country. By means of this organization we shall be able to establish branches throughout all the electoral districts, and by their aid we can disseminate the friendly message which we have to send to the people of this country. We must convince them of the strength of our purpose to have our rights, and of the sincerity of our intention to respect theirs. Now, gentlemen, the carrying out of this our programme will not prove the success we hope to achieve unless you lend us your support. Let every man resolve to use his best efforts to promote this course, write to your friends all over the country, get every one you know to propagate the Union. Their right will make our might and in this way alone shall we become a power in this Republic, and be able to bring about a Union which in very truth is a National Union. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) I shall now read to you the resolution which I have to propose :—

‘That in view of the Government having failed to supply any satisfactory reply to the representations of the people with regard to the granting of the franchise, and the suspension of the oppressive Customs’ tariff, to come into operation on the 1st October, this meeting of the Union resolves to appeal forthwith to the burghers of the country through the agency of branches of this Union to be established right throughout the electoral districts of the State.’

Mr. H. Solomon seconded the resolution proposed by Mr. Carr. He said : You have heard the account of the interview which took place with the Government ; and, gentlemen, I may say (and I think you will agree with me) that it is a one-man Government. When the President of this country makes up his mind he generally carries out what he intends to do, and the other members of the Executive simply back him up. (Hear, hear.) The resolution just proposed covers a lot of ground. It covers the question of taxation among other things. By a great amount of pressure we have succeeded in getting the railway brought up to

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

Johannesburg ; but, by an extraordinary piece of legislation, the Government of this country has prevented the railway from carrying goods into the country. I should like to know how the Government of this country will ever pay the interest on the money they have borrowed to pay for this railway, unless they take away the prohibitive duties just passed by the Volksraad. (Applause.) It is all very well for the Government of this country to say that the Uitlander, or new-comer, will have to bear the chief burden of the taxes. The burden will be so great directly that it will be impossible to get it from these Uitlanders —(laughter)—and the old burghers will find that they will have to assist in paying the taxes. As it appears we have failed to reach the ear of the Government, I should like to appeal to the burghers, and I believe it is impossible to appeal better to the feelings of any man, whether Uitlander or burgher, than to do so through his pocket. (Laughter.) I would like the burgher of this country to understand if these prohibitive duties are not removed, it will be impossible for the interest to be paid on the amount we have borrowed to bring the railway into the country, and the consequences will be a heavier burden of taxation, which will be laid at the door of the burgher himself. (Hear, hear.) Most of the gentlemen who have addressed you this evening have to a certain extent (if I may use the word) blackguarded the Government, but I would like to give the Government every credit for recognising the power of the Union. They have seen us. What does that mean ? It means that they recognise the voice of the people is speaking through the voice of the Union. The President is a candidate for the next election for the Presidency of this country. I don't think you could expect the President to come forward and say, 'You must give these people the franchise,' and thereby jeopardise the chance of his election. But he, and the other candidates, ought to put this matter before the burghers of the country and say, 'Here is a power you must reckon with ; here is a population that have brought brains and money into the country ; you must reckon them as one of yourselves, and give them what they wish.' Then let the

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

burgher, with that sense of justice which Mr. Leonard says is one of the brightest ornaments of his character, come forth and aid us. Most of you will remember that the members of the Volksraad absolutely refused to give the Executive that power of attorney—(laughter)—which they gave them last session. What does this mean? Why, it means that the burghers are not particularly satisfied with the action of the Government, and they wish to take a deeper interest in the management of the country themselves. (Hear, hear.) As you are aware, gentlemen, there will be a fresh election shortly, and there will very likely be eighteen new members appointed. I believe if the burghers take that interest in it which they are inclined to do, they will have eighteen members of more liberal ideas than the eighteen who vacate their seats. I am sorry to see in one of the newspapers here that the National Union is supposed to be antagonistic to the movement called the Labour Union just organized. Now, that is not so. We desire the working man, as well as the capitalist, to identify himself with us, and we look to everybody for his support. If we can get the support of the Labour Union, we will rely upon it doing everything it can for the protection of the working classes, and shall be glad of their support. Something has already been said to you this evening about concessions. They are the curse of the country, and if something is not done to remove them by the Government, or the Volksraad of the country, they will have to be purchased, and to get them purchased, very heavy taxes will have to be laid on the country. We must either get them cancelled or buy out the concessionaires. If we cannot cancel them, then the people will have to face a very severe burden in taxation. The resolution which Mr. Carr has proposed for your acceptance, to have branches throughout the country, reminds me of the Afrikander Bond, which was started by a much smaller meeting than that which inaugurated this Union. It was sneered at throughout the country and by the people, but finally it became a power. That movement represented, however, Public Opinion, and was so strong that the intelligent portion of the Colony had to recognise that it was a power in the land. The

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

Government of the country also recognised its importance, and finally the Bond obtained all it asked for in the way of rights and privileges; and I say to-day the Afrikaner Bond brings a very great influence to bear upon the Government of South Africa. It was also a good influence, as is any influence which causes us to listen to the voice of public opinion; and the Government of the Cape Colony had done a very wise thing in recognising it. The Transvaal Union is in a better position to start with than the Afrikaner Bond, because from the very outset it has been recognised by the Government. When the Government stated they would like to see a deputation from us in Pretoria, they recognised the power of the Transvaal Union immediately. (Hear, hear.) Our duty is to have proper organizations, to have branches in every town in the Transvaal, and then, gentlemen, we shall have what we can call a strong public position with the burgher of this country. (Loud applause.)

The Chairman: Before putting this resolution I may say we have a distinguished stranger on the platform this evening. (A voice: 'No stranger.') Although I have not his authority, I am going to ask him to address you upon this resolution. Mr. Advocate Esselen will now speak to this assemblage.

Mr. Esselen (who in rising was greeted with loud and continuous applause and cheers) said: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, it is getting rather late, therefore the sooner I have done with you, and you with me, the better. I am sure when I heard the Chairman alluding to a distinguished gentleman upon the platform, I did not think he was alluding to me but to another distinguished gentleman, though I certainly thought you might expect to hear a few words from me. However, gentlemen, I may tell you that I quite agree with your Chairman when he stated that I agreed with this movement. I may tell you that I am in entire accord with the movement of the National Union, and I am very proud to have been asked to say a few words. I have previously been before you at one or two public meetings in Johannesburg, but they were not attended like this, nor so interesting. The first was when Mr. Jeppe was standing as

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

candidate for the Second Chamber, and I remember distinctly the impression made upon me; but that impression was made much stronger by the meeting of the other night, when Mr. Charlie Leonard impressed upon that portion of the public of Johannesburg the necessity of registering. He said to you, 'Register, register, register.' Another member of your Committee, not long ago advised you to 'Agitate, agitate, agitate.' Gentlemen, let me ask you not to forget these words, but to take them seriously to heart. Register and agitate! Only by these means will you get the reforms you ask, and to which, let me say, you are fully entitled. (Loud applause.) It affords me great pleasure to be here to-night, because you prove, not only by your presence here, but also by the choice of the gentlemen who form your Committee, that you are sincere in your protestations. But you must remember that it is not enough to meet together here in Johannesburg and to give vent to your feelings. You must do something further. Now, the proposition before you is one by which it is calculated to help the movement forward. You are to call upon your friends and sympathisers all over the country, and to ask them to organize throughout the length and breadth of the country by establishing branches of this Union. Then, when your united voice is heard, the misrepresentations which have been spread about you will be swept off the face of the earth, and the people of the country will recognise in you true citizens of a great Republic. But remember one thing. Remember that no political privilege is to be gained except by time, energy, and effort. Don't forget that neither the Government of this country nor the burghers of this country are likely to say to you, 'Open your mouths wide, and we will fill them!' (Laughter.) They will do no such thing. Show to them that you strive on constitutional lines to get the constitution of the country changed; that you are to be trusted with privileges and power. (Applause.) I have watched with great interest the two political movements which are now at work in this country, for I can assure you that there is also a movement among the enfranchised burghers of this State, and I may tell you

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

that I have been greatly struck by these two movements. These two movements agitate the minds of all who are intelligent enough to take an interest in the future welfare of the country, and I have come to the conclusion that now is the time for you to assert your rights and show your patriotism. The Uitlanders—I call them Uitlanders no longer, because it is a misnomer—I would have to call myself an Uitlander, for there are many here who have been longer in the country than myself, and others have come a few years or months after me. Now, while I, to-night, enjoy the full privileges of citizenship, you and they do not. Is that system to be perpetuated in this country for ever? (Cries of 'No!') Is it conducive to the strength and prosperity of the country? (Cries of 'No!') Let me give you the assurance that if this question were addressed to a meeting of enfranchised burghers the answer would be 'No,' as in this case. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, I tell you it is a good thing for you if you pass this resolution to establish branches of the Union throughout the length and breadth of the land. The material will not be wanting, and the material that you will find ready to hand will not consist of Uitlanders alone, but will comprise many burghers, who sympathise with and will join the movement on account of their sense of justice. (Applause.) It is necessary to do that to sweep away the misrepresentation made with regard to your character and with regard to your objects. Did any one think for a moment that this spirit which has shown itself lately in Johannesburg—not only in Johannesburg, because we must not forget that we are a National Union—that if this feeling had been aroused and nursed by outside influence, that I for one would take part on this platform? I ask you to say it was an absolute absurdity for any one to say so. (Hear, hear.) But it is a further step in that class of misrepresentation which now wishes to blind the eyes of the burghers again as to your motives. What is that motive, gentlemen?

I have heard to-night with surprise and deep regret the report which your Committee has brought back from the powers that be in Pretoria. *I wish to ask you whether you can give any credence to*

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

the statements of a man who says he is going to unite two people when the whole of his acts for the last ten years show it is absolutely untrue. (Loud cheers.) I do not speak without knowing what I am talking about. (Applause.) I say you have been kept out of your political privileges, not because the people have kept you out from fear that your being granted these privileges would wreck or endanger the independence of this country, but to enable the few, and a greedy few, to rule this country for their own ends. (Loud cheers.) In 1882, gentlemen, every man could get the franchise who came into the country, lived for five years in it, and was registered and had paid £25. Not only so, but other towns had representatives. Towns such as Rustenburg and Lydenburg, that could send representatives to Pretoria, did so. Every man that was enfranchised was entitled to take his seat in the Raad. In 1886, shortly after Johannesburg was started, and after Barberton had been in existence, this law was altered, and although that period was changed, they said no man who had not been fifteen years in the country could take a seat in the Volksraad. Was that not a reactionary measure, and was it not liable to widen the differences of the people? Shortly after the representatives were taken away from Lydenburg and Rustenburg, but no voice was raised against it. *Who was it that proposed the measure that was now in force—that the new-comer in this country should only get full franchise after he had been here fourteen years, and then only at the sweet will of the legislative body? (Laughter.) Who was it proposed that? Was it not the same man that gave your Committee the answer to do nothing more? (Loud applause.) I ask you, gentlemen, can you after that sit still and follow the advice that is given to you to hold no more meetings? (Cries of 'No.') Will you allow yourselves to be gagged? (Voices, 'No.') Gentlemen, I say you would not be doing your duty to yourselves and to the South African Republic if you did. (Cheers.) One of the previous speakers mentioned that the powers that be could do nothing at present. Have we not an instance in the railway that has come here of what the President could do? Did not the President tell Mr. Charles Leonard that the people of Johannesburg would soon have rail-*

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

way communication with the seaboard, and when the matter was first mentioned to him, did he not say, 'Let me do it my own way,' and when the Volksraad was not sitting he entered into an agreement, without any legislative authority, well knowing his force and authority would carry it the next sitting of the Raad? Now I ask you has he gone to the trusty burghers and said, 'There are thousands of men well disposed to the Republic that want the franchise, and I ask you to give them that franchise. (Hear, hear.) I advise you to give them that franchise, I tell you you will strengthen the Republic if you will allow these men equal privileges.' All these years has he even raised a single word for you? (A voice, 'Never, never.') If he had gone on his travels amid the burghers, and laid your just cause before those burghers, is there any one doubt what the answer would be? *If any one doubts then he would be a lunatic.* (Applause.) *Therefore I say, 'Trust them not, they are fooling you.'* Rely upon your own powers, rely upon the justice of your case. ORGANIZE! ORGANIZE! ORGANIZE! Lay your case before the burghers. I am convinced from what I have lately heard throughout the length and breadth of the land, a new brotherhood will be entered upon. The Boer will know it will help to strengthen the independence of the country for which he fought if he stands shoulder to shoulder with you. (Loud applause.) Therefore, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am exceedingly pleased at the proposition proposed and seconded by the previous speakers. I ask you to pass it, but when it is passed, I ask you not to leave the whole organization in the hands of one or two only. Get the speeches, get them reported and circulated, get them reported in Dutch and spread them throughout the length and breadth of the country. (Hear, hear.) Mark me, Mr. Chairman, one of the greatest factors that has opened the eyes of the Boer, made him read as he never read before—I know it for a fact—is the effect of this industrious law-abiding population on the goldfields. The surplus of the country has increased to such an extent he can hardly understand it; but he knows perfectly well—as well as any man upon Witwaters-

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

rand—that as long as the industry continues so long will the surplus remain and increase. He knows if you disappear that surplus will vanish and the old order of affairs be reverted to, and no man would dislike that more than the burgher of this country. (Hear, hear.)

Therefore, the conclusion I have come to is this: You have a friend in the burgher, but, owing to the machinations and on account of your own lethargy and indifference, you do not know it. Let your voice be heard. Claim on constitutional lines what any man has the right to claim and you will have a friend in the burgher, and, in connection with this, your various branches of the National Union will be the best means of effecting that brotherhood for which all are hoping. (Loud and continued applause.)

The Chairman then announced that an old burgher of the State, who was a Field-Cornet of an important district, would address the meeting in Dutch, Mr. Charles Leonard interpreting.

Mr. W. J. Scheepers (who was greeted with hearty applause) said: Gentlemen and friends, as many as there are here. I come before you to-night as an old inhabitant of the Transvaal. It gives me great pleasure to be invited among you. What has been said of other speakers to-night I cannot contradict. (Cheers.) I must say, to my sorrow, it is the simple truth. (Loud applause.) I am glad that after to-night I cannot call you Uitlanders; I must call you strangers, acknowledged by me to-day as co-burghers of this State. I am ashamed of the answer that has been sent to your Committee. The reason thereof I can fully understand. In other years when these difficult matters have cropped up, they have been shifted on to the Executive. The Executive could then settle them forthwith; but this year the power has been taken from them. If any one says nay to this, let him stand up. It gives me great pleasure that strangers stand up to-night to speak the truth which for long years has been smothered. (Loud applause.) I think if it really came to a point of law that there would be hundreds amongst you present who are equally entitled with myself and other Afri-

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

kanders to the full rights of citizens—that is, according to law. I became an inhabitant of this country in 1861. At that time, if a man resided for one year in the State he became a full citizen. He could vote for ‘General’ and for the Presidency, although he was not himself personally eligible for the presidency. In 1866 this was altered. The residence qualification was then made five years. As Mr. Esselen said, the law relating to the payment of the £25 was then again changed. Therefore, there are hundreds of you that are entitled to the rights of full citizens, because you have satisfied the necessary requirements. It is not necessary to go far to prove this. Every one of you is entitled to these rights, even if you can only own a stand, and some of you have paid hundreds and thousands of pounds in excess of the required amount. I give you credit, burghers, that you stand up to-day for your rights, and for justice for yourselves. You must stand shoulder to shoulder to defend those rights. The goldfields have been alluded to to-night. What was the condition of the Transvaal before the Rand fields were discovered? (Laughter.) It was on the verge of bankruptcy. (Hear, hear.) But in what position does it stand to-day? Three or four years ago the Treasury was so overflowing with coin that the Government offered money to lend. (Laughter.) And look at its condition now! One thing more, which you may say is a divergence. When I, a Boer, have been driving a span of oxen five or six or ten years, I depend upon them and it is not necessary for me to look out for the bad places on the road. But one day one of my oxen makes a mistake and then the whole span sticks. (Laughter.) Thus it is with our Government. (Cheers.) Citizens! We have trusted them ten or fifteen years. What is the case to-day? The voice of the people is dead, and the Volksraad together with the President ‘boss the show.’ (Loud cheers.) Present memorials or don’t present memorials—it is all the same. (Cheers.) The voice of the people is dead, and we must re-awaken it. (Loud cheers.) And, gentlemen and friends, is it in our power; can we get those defaulting, shaky oxen taken out of the span, and new ones put in? (Prolonged cheers.) My

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

opinion is that we require a new President and a new Volksraad. So long as the Volksraad is established upon its present basis, by which only landed proprietors are eligible for it, we shall never obtain a redress of our grievances. Look back from the year 1840, and see if one single penny of taxation has been levied upon one inch of ground. No, the poor burgher—the soldier of the country—must sustain the heavy burdens of the State! Gentlemen, as you will, so I will vote with you. I am a raw Afrikaner, although I have lived among the Britishers. Justice prevails in the world, but it has yet to prevail in the Transvaal! (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, so far I have said enough. But yet one thing more. (Turning to the Committee), I see that so far as the work has been done, it has been well done. But it has not gone far enough. We must prepare another petition in urgent terms—we are the voice of the people, and must make that voice heard. I say we must prepare another memorial to Government, asking them decisively to say who is to vote and who is not. And let me tell you the time has come when the voice of every citizen must make itself heard. We have suffered five years in iron fetters, and if we make another mistake such as we have made five years ago, we shall have to bear those fetters five years longer. (Applause.) We must try to get free and remain free. (Loud cheers.) The half of the Transvaal is already in the hands of a few speculators, now it is necessary for us to try and keep a tittle out of it. (Cheers and laughter.) Well, gentlemen, I think I have said enough to-night, and will now make room for other speakers.

(Mr. Scheepers sat down amidst enthusiastic applause, which was continued for a few minutes. When it subsided three cheers for the last speaker were called for, and were most heartily given.)

REPORT

From the 'Standard and Diggers' News,'

DATED MAY 29TH, 1893.

TRANSVAAL NATIONAL UNION.

AWAKES FROM ITS SLEEP

AND REVIEWS ITS DEMANDS.

THEY WILL INSIST.—NO LONGER TO BE PUT OFF.

ON Saturday evening last the large hall of the Stock Exchange was crowded, to the number of about 800, with an enthusiastic and attentive audience called together by the Transvaal National Union. A very commodious platform had been erected at one end of the hall. Amongst those present were the Hon. John Tudhope, President of the Union, Messrs. C. Leonard, W. P. Fraser, A. R. Goldring, W. H. Rogers, St. John Carr, Rev. D. W. Drew, Jas. Hay, J. Durham, D. Holt, H. Solomon, R. A. Bettington, H. Adler, E. Lippert, Black, Hudson, Peirson, W. H. Adler, Woodford, H. J. Hoffmeyer. A sprinkling of ladies were to be seen in the gallery.

MR. TUDHOPE IS HEARD AGAIN.

The Chairman, on rising to open the proceedings, was warmly applauded. He addressed those present as citizens of Johannesburg, members of the Transvaal National Union, and said he was sorry he could not add 'electors and burghers of the State.' They were met there once more after an interval of repose to resume the agitation for their political rights and liberties which for a short time had been interrupted, and he was glad to see by

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

the large attendance that evening the subject had not lost any of its importance in their eyes. (Applause.) That they were fully alive to the necessity of being represented in the Councils of this State, and by their presence there that evening they again authorised the Committee to recommence the agitation in their name. Before giving the meeting the programme of the proceedings he desired for a short time to take them back to the condition of things political as they existed this time last year. They were well aware that in the early part of 1892 political matters were dead; there was no such thing as political feeling in Johannesburg. At that time it would have been extremely difficult to have got up any meeting to discuss political affairs whatever. The result was that the Government, emboldened by the apparent apathy of the people, proceeded to curtail the few liberties they then enjoyed, and further they denied municipal rights to them. Johannesburg, he was sorry to say, is still without a municipality, a privilege which is enjoyed by the meanest towns in the neighbouring Colonies. This state of affairs was endured for a time, but at last the people began to give expression to their feelings, with the result that the Transvaal National Union was brought into existence. It was felt that some organization was required in order to give public expression to the views they held, and which many of them had expressed in private. The members of the Union met in their first session of Parliament in 1892, and that evening they were met in the second session of their great Parliament. The meetings of the Union had been the means of disillusioning the people, and had woke the Government up to the fact that there is in the country an intelligent body of men who desired to have the rights of citizenship, men whose demands were moderate but firm, and deserving of consideration. All that the Union asked for during its session of 1892 had not been granted by the Government, which unfortunately was at the time embarrassed by the coming election, and by dissensions amongst themselves; but the influence of the Union on the Government had been great. Branches of the Union had been formed in various parts,

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

and a manifesto had been put forward in the Dutch language, and circulated in most of the principal farmhouses of the State. (Applause.) They had good reason to believe that the circulation of that manifesto, setting forth the demands of the Uitlanders, had been of the greatest advantage to their cause. From far and near they had heard that the Boers were prepared to agitate in favour of some of the measures of reform asked for by the Union, and moreover they knew that there was a very large party, an increasing party, in the State who are prepared to meet the Union in its demands. (Applause.) Two important political events had occurred since they last met. The first was the new election of the members of the Volksraad, and more especially as it concerned Johannesburg the election of another member to represent them in the First Volksraad. (Applause.) That was an object-lesson to them on what they were to come to. They were reduced to this, that the intelligent mechanic, the intelligent miner, the man of business, the man of wealth, was excluded from the election, and the nobodies, the obscure people who came from their obscurity and voted on the day and went back to their obscurity—those were the men who returned the member for Johannesburg. (Hear, hear.) Jeppestown, Fordsburg, Doornfontein, Marshall's Township, were absent, and Veldschoendorp and the Brickfields were prominently conspicuous. (Laughter and applause.) Such an impression did those scenes make on an old burgher of the State, who witnessed them from the steps of the Post-offices, that he turned to one of the members of the Union, and exclaimed, 'I don't wonder the Uitlander feels slighted when you see a thing like that, when you see these men allowed a vote and you are not.' That was an object-lesson to the inhabitants of this country. They had a member in Mr. Jeppe, who was in sympathy with their objects. (Applause.) He was pleased to know Mr. Jeppe had made an intelligent study of all the great questions that had agitated them, and come to a definite resolution on them, and he went to the Volksraad to give expression to those feelings when the right time arrived. He believed their

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

interests were safe in Mr. Jeppe's hands. He was delighted they had such a member, but he ought to have been sent by the intelligent inhabitants of Johannesburg, and not by the nobodies. (Applause.) The next great political event was the election of the President, and here, to their shame be it spoken, the same obscure individuals voted and put a man into the highest position in the State. Why should the members of the National Union have taken part in the election of the ruler of this country for the next five years when they had no right to do so? (Applause.) That was a very important and critical period. If any evidence was wanted to show the importance of the National Union it was this: They were approached by both parties to assist them in the election of President. He did not say it was not a temptation. They might have been tempted to make terms and say: 'If you give us all we require we will help you to elect Mr. Kruger,' but they resisted the temptation. (Applause.) The temptation came from another side—the opposite party in the State. Repeated attempts were made to convert their platform into a party platform. They resisted that attempt. (Applause.) As the agitation proceeded great excitement prevailed on both sides. He was in possession of most authentic information that a crisis in this State had only just safely been passed through. He knew it had been the cue of some newspapers to minimise that crisis. He did not wish to exaggerate it at all, but he was in the possession of the most authentic information that the feelings of the country population on this question were so aroused that civil war was at that time in the near future. (Applause.) Supposing for one moment that they had deviated from their attitude of reserve and neutrality, and thrown their influence into one side or the other, would not the past have been embittered to the last degree? They would have made a cat's paw to take the chestnuts out of the fire for one side or the other, and they refused to be put in that humiliating position. They saw clearly they might either by resistance or foolish influence peril the peace and safety of this State, and they, he thought, wisely abstained from taking part in that great and important contest. (Applause.)

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

What did that prove? Did it not prove, if anything, that they were as worthy to possess the franchise as the men he had described? (Applause.) Did it not prove, if anything, they were loyal to the constitution and government of this State, that they refused to make themselves a party to do anything that would embroil the State and bring any outside interference in? That was what the Union had been taunted with. They had been taunted over and over again that members of the Union were not moved by patriotic motives, but selfish motives, in order to bring about the retrocession of the independence of this State. He said they had proved most conclusively they were anxious to preserve that independence and to have a strong hold upon the affections of the people. (Applause.) He had frequently been asked why he, a British subject—and he could be taken as a representative British subject, being an ex-servant of the Crown of England—should have thrown himself into this agitation, and come forward to strengthen a Government which was in direct opposition to the aims and objects of the British nation. This question had been put to him not only in the press, but by a good many people. He had been asked why he should work for the independence of a State which, in time and the ordinary course of events, would finally be absorbed and become part of the surrounding States. His reasons for taking the course he had followed were manifold. In the first place, he, as a citizen in a foreign country, desired to observe the laws and constitution of that State. Such a citizen, moreover, when he came to possess property in the State of his adoption, when he observed the laws and took upon himself the responsibilities imposed by laws, became also entitled to the privileges conferred by the law. The one could not be separated from the other. (Cheers.) The foreigner, or Uitlander, when he came to have a stake in the country, when he paid taxes, when he devoted his time to public duties, when he observed the laws, became part and parcel of the State. In this country, in the towns as well as outside, a large majority was in favour of a republican form of Government. If an attempt were made to destroy it, such attempt would bring

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

about a civil war, and the man who did it would be a traitor to the country. It was their desire to protect this republican form of Government and the constitution of the country. Under existing circumstances, however, he could hardly say that the present form of Government in this country was republican. In fact, it was not. It was an autocratic, a bureaucratic form of Government. (Applause.) If the Government were made truly republican, 'broad based upon the people's will,' it would gain everywhere, and would find cordial support among all sections of the people, the agricultural, the commercial, industrial, and mining populations alike. There would then be a proper co-operation among the different elements in the State to support the ruling power, which would tend to produce and increase the respect of the Government. The object of the Transvaal National Union was to obtain this true Republican Government. They wanted to spread the principles of such Government in all quarters until it leavened the whole. He desired to set the objects of the Union clearly forth, and in doing so he was certain the Union would have the sympathy of every inhabitant of the State, whether in town or country. Those were the reasons why the Union had begun a new session. During the interval they had materially broadened the organization, and they now took the field again to express the people's will. The speaker then went on to explain the different resolutions which were to be brought before the meeting, and concluded his speech amidst loud applause.

Mr. Charles Leonard moved the first resolution, which ran as follows:—

'That this meeting of the Transvaal National Union has observed with profound regret and dissatisfaction, that in the speech of his Honour the President, at the opening of the Volksraad, there was no recognition of the political disabilities under which the new population of the State is labouring, more especially their disqualification to vote, and their inadequate representation in the Volksraad; and they desire again to press the justice of their claims on

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

the consideration of the Government and Legislature of the State.'

In doing so, he said he had heard it frequently remarked during the last four or five months, and indeed quite recently, that the National Union was dead. He thought the most emphatic refutation of that statement was to be found in the fact of the meeting that was being held that night. In fact, the National Union had been neither dead nor asleep, or if they had been sleeping, they had been sleeping like the sailor, with one eye open. (Laughter.) He thought the terms of the resolution he had to propose were sufficient to commend themselves to those present.

It was, perhaps, necessary to go over the history of the country of the past few months in some degree in order to link together the history of the National Union. Some time ago, as the chairman had told them, the National Union had published a pamphlet setting out in moderate language what the aims and claims of the National Union were. He was sorry to say that that very moderate pamphlet was met by a response in the *Press* newspaper—the Government organ—in which, in the vilest possible taste, the members of the National Union were classed as liars, traitors, and snakes in the grass, in fact, the vilest epithets the writer could think of, the fundamental object of which was to class them as traitors who sought to undermine the independence of the State. He asked all those present to say that such an insinuation was a lie. ('It is a lie' and applause.) The article which appeared in the paper referred to bore most unmistakable evidence that it was not the unaided effort of a Transvaal burgher, but was the outcome of a coalition of certain members of the Government and the Hollanders (hear, hear), a coalition which, possibly dire in its inception, had ripened until its unholy alliance threatens to overwhelm the liberties of the people of this Republic. He hurled the insinuations cast in that article back on the writer with indignation and contempt. (Applause.) It had been stated that the views expressed in the article he referred to had the approval of the President. How far that might be true or not he was not in a position to say; but he was quite certain that it did not repre-

sent the honest sentiments of the Boers of this country, the sentiment on which they had to rely with regard to making this country a nation; and they would be paying a very poor tribute to the true sense, the fundamental sense, of justice in the Boer if they received it as a manifesto representing his views. It did not represent the Boer's views, but the exotic views of interested men.

He also had, in this instance, the very pleasant duty of referring to a newspaper published in Johannesburg. Last year, he thought, the National Union were a little bit impatient under the criticism of that paper, although, perhaps, sometimes the National Union might have been unfair in their conclusions with regard to that paper, and perhaps sometimes that paper was not quite fair towards the National Union. He referred to the *Standard and Diggers' News*. On the principle that there was more joy in Heaven in the repentance of one sinner than the righteousness of one hundred and one others, he thought he might refer with the strongest satisfaction to the principles lately propounded in the leading articles of that paper. He would like to read a few extracts from articles which had appeared in that journal in the present month bearing upon the subject of the National Union, and he might say, in justice to the *Standard and Diggers' News*, that he had taken the trouble to compare an article published in that paper in August of 1892, which he found was a good, honest criticism, and possibly that criticism did them (the National Union) good. He was sure that every one would welcome heartily any good, honest criticism, which was calculated to properly influence men's minds, and, therefore, they ought not to slang the newspapers when they read in them home truths, which were the underlying sentiments of the people. That was all they wanted. The *Diggers' News* also published sentiments like these:—

‘But this we do ask, that some steps shall be taken here and now towards receiving the newer element into the heart of things, towards making of the whole a robust, righteous, and representative Republic. The numbers of the New Accretion increase daily, and with them that irresistible impetus towards equality, which nothing can resist. Then

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

why not find for it an outlet, however small, rather than attempt to dam it up altogether? The Boer cannot, surely, think for a moment of measuring forces with the serried phalanx of fortune-seekers, and with public opinion that wells within limits all too narrow. And if not, then an outlet must be found, and the act of acknowledgment and acceptance done as gracefully and as quickly as possible. It is for these reasons disappointing that the initiative is not taken in the proper place—the President's speech.'

This was his key-note (hear, hear), and embraced what he had to say that night. He could not have described it so well had he not quoted the *Diggers' News*. Again, on the 23rd May:—

'For Paul Kruger must see, if any one sees, that the backward Boer who opposes all sorts and conditions of enlightened suggestions is a danger to the country, is a person to be combated and opposed; he must see that there is a sweet reasonableness in the "opposition" that has already arisen: he must see that light and learning are streaming in through the medium of the Smartened Six; he must see that the requirements of the country demand immediate and reasonable recognition of Republican rights—liberty, equality, fraternity; he must understand that the whole scheme of Boer existence demands to be smartened in order to be saved—that the Boer must evolve or evaporate.'

Here was another article from the *Standard and Diggers' News* worth quoting, dated 26th May:—

'The desire to obtain it has a two-fold origin. In the first place, one desires to see the State consolidated for its own sake, so that it may be strengthened; and, in the next place, one and all know and feel that the secret of our immediate individual prosperity lies in the establishment of a popular Government that shall be respected for its love of justice and shall earn the esteem of other nations. To-day it is by no means based on the people's will; the minority—at any rate, the seeming minority—has the

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

monopoly of power, and there is no liberty, nor equality, nor fraternity. If only the Boers, having eyes, would see! having ears, would hear! For, manifestly, here and now the grandest opportunities offer for him to begin *de novo* on a new and National basis, where one and all shall meet as brothers, and the political structure shall be at once seemly and sound. To ignore this glorious opportunity for growing into something glorious and great will be mid-summer madness. And so long as the Union argues on these lines, and restricts itself to them, it will argue logically and well, and the Boer must find it good business—even if it be nothing else—to listen to it. For a deaf ear must mean desolation, disbandment, disappearance.’

And more to the same purpose. He thought he had read quite sufficient to show that the editor of the *Diggers' News* was very well qualified to be on the platform of the National Union. (Cheers.) Now, there was another newspaper he should like to refer to, namely, the *Press* of Pretoria, the paper he had already said had published the vile manifesto. He said distinctly nothing justified the terms used. He found but two months ago an article was published which advised the granting of the franchise to the people, and justified the pamphlet it had vilified before. He found this in the *Press*, and naturally thought the President was going to give them something, and in thinking this they looked forward to a statement of what would be given them, and in that belief they had held aloof, as their chairman said. In thus holding aloof, they claimed great credit. If they had taken part in the recent election they could have done no good; they would have discredited themselves. (Laughter.) He wished them to understand that they would have been misinterpreted. They claimed great credit for moderation towards the Government of the country. He wished to make some reference to the President's speech to the Uitlanders. It was nothing but disappointment.

Last year, in a written communication, the President admitted (1st) that the Uitlander was in the majority, and (2nd) that the

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

franchise laws were not just, and he said he was prepared to support a full measure of the franchise beyond that now fixed by law. But what kind of franchise did the President want to foist upon them? Just to select trustworthy persons to the franchise, and allow them to vote for trustworthy persons. But they could not trust the Government to select trustworthy persons. The Government would only select those persons who would support the present form of Government. Now, he said the President was bound to redeem his promise to give a full franchise, and that they were right to make some reference to the disabilities under which they laboured. They had just cause to make their voices heard that night on the subject. No justifiable reference whatever had been made to their present condition.

They were told last year, when they forwarded their resolutions to the Volksraad—told by the Government—that they were too late to lay them before the Volksraad that session, implying that they would be laid before the Raad this present session. This should have appeared in the Presidential speech. They knew perfectly well, too, that the likelihood was that unless they pressed with no uncertain voice for their political rights, they were likely to be thrown over for another year. They were told that a measure must be published three months before it could come before the Volksraad. Where was the Bill? The President had not published a Bill, and it appeared to him that they were between the devil and the deep sea. (Laughter.) The President would not do anything for them, nor the Raad neither. An illustration of the conception some members of the Raad had as to their duties would be found in a story recently told him. In voting on a certain measure, one of the oldest members of the Raad said to another, ‘Don’t you know what you are doing? Don’t you know that the Government introduced that measure, and you must not criticise it?’ (Laughter.) And that is the way in which the business of the country is carried on. It was absolutely impossible to say that any measure that might be introduced would be discussed by the Volksraad, because it was by no means improbable that the Government would bring up a

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

report on it at the end of the session, and then the members would go home to their wives.

If the speech made by the President at the opening of the Volksraad was disappointing, there was at least some reason for his silence, because at the time it was trembling in the balance whether the President got £8000 a year and the other sweets of office or not. The speech after his (the President's) election was most disappointing. The following was all he had to say to the many thousands who had come into the State and made it what it is:—'To the new burghers, I say, it gives me pleasure that you are prepared to work with us for the common cause—the welfare of the State. For remedial measures for yourselves and your wants you can turn to me as head of the State, and I will endeavour to further your interests. Work with us, and you work for yourselves. Strangers, those of you who refuse to bid farewell to the countries of your birth, you are also welcome here. You will be protected by the laws that protect the burghers of the land; and if you return to your native lands, and come back here, you will be welcome again.' (Laughter.) That was all the President had to say to the strangers—that they were welcome. He should think so, and he should think, further, that the Government would only be too glad to welcome some thousands more in order to tax them, take all the brains out of them, and deny them the rights of citizenship. The President said, 'Work with us,' the very thing the members of the National Union were asking to do, and yet were refused the right to do. It was all very well for the President to ask the Uitlanders to work with the Government and still deny them political rights.

The country had not been made what it is by the Government; it had prospered of its great natural wealth, because of its mineral resources. The public works of the country were in foreign hands, in the hands of a foreign company which had shown its utter inability to cope with them. (Applause.) The administration of justice was in a parlous condition, murder was stalking abroad undetected and unpunished, and there were other serious grievances for which the Government was responsible. With a wiser

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

legislation, the burdens of the people would be reduced, and more capital would be attracted to the country. The President said to them: 'Turn to me as head of the State.' (Laughter.) What was the result of all the cries that the Uitlanders had sent to the President? Nothing, except that their deputations had been repeatedly snubbed, and that was not a position in which a free people should be placed. The people wanted their rights to be determined by their representatives in Parliament. (Applause.) They wanted the principle that taxation went with representation enforced in this State. They were asking the people of this country to put the President right in his conception of republican institutions. (Applause.) They knew what the position would be. It meant they would have to go to one individual in the State, and he was only their Chief Magistrate, for a distribution of favours, which meant fighting for his own hand, and enabling him to play one section off against another, and to take full advantage of the inherent selfishness of human nature. (Applause.) If there was anything in that speech it lay in the words, 'You who refuse to give up allegiance to your native country are welcome while you stay here, and when you go back, if you choose to come back again, you will be welcome.' The President who made that speech knew there was a vast population here, with vast interests, who meant to stay in this country, and by their conduct and enterprise had entitled themselves to be treated as citizens. It was not just to them such words should be addressed to them.

Nine months ago he (Mr. Leonard) said they wanted to work with the Boer, and not against him, to get political reform, and he repeated that statement. The National Union had no other higher aspiration than to make one body of citizens through this Republic, and to make it a true Republic. (Applause.) He said then the people who pointed out to the Boer the rocks ahead of him were his truest and best friends. He repeated that statement. They had to-day not more than 20,000 old burghers, ranging from boys of sixteen years of age. The President had admitted that the Uitlanders outnumbered that population, and he

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

ventured to say in five years (it was sufficient for his argument to say ten years) they would have 150,000 Uitlanders in this State. Was it wise, was it just, to continue this policy? And if not, were not the people who showed this to the Boer his best friends? (Applause.) He wished to pay a tribute to the spirit of reform abroad in the hearts of the Boers. He had spoken to many of them, and had found the same reasonable spirit. He wished also to pay a tribute to the very good spirit to be found in many members of the Second Volksraad. A leading member of the Second Volksraad had said he was quite prepared to commit political suicide by voting for the extinction of the Chamber. He said 'Hear, hear' to that. They wanted to get the Second Volksraad abolished. One Volksraad was enough for one people. They wanted it to be felt, to be understood, that by their conduct in the past they had become entitled to the rights and privileges of citizens, the right to help in the building up of the Republic on a broad and sure foundation. (Applause.)

Mr. James Hay came forward to second the resolution. It gave him great pleasure, he said, to do so, but the pleasure was not altogether unalloyed. He had hoped that there would be no more necessity to appear again before the citizens of Johannesburg for the purpose of asking them to urge upon Government their claims for representation. If the President had carried out the promises made when he was travelling the country, as they had the right to expect he would, it would not now be necessary to call them together again. But then the President would have had to publish, in the ordinary course of law, a draft bill, by which justice should be done to the inhabitants of the State. That had, however, not been done, and so they were compelled to call them together once more, to urge upon the Government to grant them those liberties, without which there could be no true Republic. It was unjust to speak of them as new-comers or Uitlanders. They had now been long enough in the country, and had so far identified themselves with its progress and independence of the State that they had a right to claim citizenship. There was, however, another reason, besides this somewhat

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

sentimental one, why they should be granted full liberties, and this reason was a purely practical one. It was a wrong policy to divide the inhabitants of the State into two classes, thereby giving them divided interests. Under such circumstances there could be no true prosperity. Only by pulling together in one direction could the true prosperity of the State be secured, a prosperity that would make the nation respected at home and feared abroad. This could be the case only if all the inhabitants were allowed to bear the burden of the State, if all were equally allowed to take part in and share the responsibilities of the Government. That was the reason why they had again been called together, to urge upon Government to recognise the rights of the people who have laboured diligently, and who have done everything to prove themselves good citizens.

What was the position at present? Government was afraid that the so-called new-comers in the State would make common cause with people outside, to the detriment of the independence of the Republic. That fear was, however, wholly without foundation. He, for one, was utterly opposed to any outside help. They wanted to develop the resources of this country, and that they were quite capable to do without any assistance from the outside. But this apprehension on the part of the Government produced a somewhat anomalous if not dangerous state of affairs. The present state of things might be likened to an inverted pyramid, which threatened every minute to topple down because it had not sufficient support. That danger came from above, where the weight is. Let the pyramid be placed upon a broad and sound foundation, that is, the will of the people, and all would be safe. The one great question before them at this juncture, the one point they must hold in view, was to get their rights as citizens acknowledged and granted them. They got a good deal of advice from all quarters. People were advising the Union to do this, that, and the other, and to try for all sorts of things. But their first object was to secure the franchise, so that they might be enabled to take part in the making of the laws of the country so that they might be good for all. Other objects there were also,

which should be sought after, but it would be a mistake for the Union to strive for them now, before the main point is settled.

The water question was one which affected Johannesburg alone, and while he, personally, might give his support to Johannesburg with regard to this particular subject, yet he did not think it was one of the questions which should be advocated from a National Union platform. Another person had suggested to him that it was the duty of the National Union to interfere in the question of smallpox. He replied that, as far as he could see, the smallpox had nothing whatever to do with the question of securing the franchise and good government (laughter), but lay within the province of other citizens, who would doubtless do their duty, and at the same time look after their own interests. Some one else thought it was the province of the Union to take some interest in the Swazieland question. Well, it was for the very reason that he took some interest in this country that he thought it was not advisable that the National Union should display any active interest in the Swazieland question. The matter had been discussed by the President and the Governor of the Cape Colony at Colesberg. What actually took place at the Conference had not transpired, and the public were informed by the press that another interview on the subject was to be held in Pretoria. He thought, therefore, that it would ill become the members of the National Union, as citizens of this Republic, while the matter was under discussion with his Honour the President, and while he was endeavouring to secure Swazieland under the best terms, to interfere. Should they do so they would in all probability only be hampering the President, and preventing him from attaining his object. It was the duty of the National Union, in his opinion, to confine themselves to the one particular object which interested every new-comer into the country, from the extreme borders of the Transvaal to its very centre, viz., that each resident in the Republic should receive the franchise—and no other extraneous matters should at present be allowed to interfere with that great object they all had in view. He thought if they bore that in mind they would see that there was no

reason whatever that should preclude any man from becoming a member of the Union, irrespective of all minor differences of opinion that might exist among certain sections of the public with regard to other questions.

By their presence there that evening it was proved that they took a deep interest in that matter; and he felt confident that if the Union continued to urge their claims upon the Government that they would eventually induce them to grant the new-comers some measure of relief. (Applause.) It was not to be thought of for a moment that they would succeed in one effort. They must be prepared to go on and on until they finally did succeed, and that was the reason they were asked, in the last resolution which would be proposed, that they should send a deputation to Pretoria to lay the matter once more before the President and the Executive, in order that they might be enabled to see that the new-comers intended to ask and ask until they got what they wanted. (Applause.) He, personally, was of opinion that the President himself would by this time see the necessity of doing something for the Uitlanders, and would bring in a measure which would meet with the approval of the majority of the people of this country. Then they would all be enabled to welcome the incoming population into this State without any fear whatever. But if this matter of the franchise were continually shelved by the Government, and the population went on increasing without the Constitution being placed on a broad and satisfactory basis, nothing but trouble could ensue, to the disadvantage of every one in the State. (Applause.)

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously, and with applause.

THE BALLOT.

Mr. St. John Carr then moved the following resolution:—

‘That this meeting is of opinion that any measure for the extension of the franchise should be accompanied by a Ballot Act, to be applicable at least to all mining centres, and further, that the naturalisation fee should be reduced from £5 to 5s., so as to be within the reach of all classes.’

He said it would be noticed that the Ballot Act the Union advocated provided that it should be made applicable at least to all mining centres ; and it might be desirable to explain to the meeting why they had formulated their request in that manner. They had to take into consideration the prejudices which were said to exist among the burgher population to the application of any such Act among themselves. And, as a matter of fact, there was really no urgent necessity for such an Act as far as they (the burghers) were concerned. With regard to the mining centres it was very different. There numbers of people were employed, and it was desirable, in fact necessary, that they should have an opportunity of availing themselves of such protection as the Ballot Act would provide. The resolution he proposed would, he thought, also serve the purpose of meeting a widespread objection that had been raised, viz., that any extension of the franchise that the Union advocated, without a simultaneous passing of the Ballot Act, would have the effect of placing preponderating power in the hands of employers of labour, who might exercise undue influence on the enfranchised voter. And, secondly, it would serve to refute the sinister aspersion that had been breathed that the National Union had purposely refrained from taking up the question of the Ballot Act, so that opportunities might remain for the employers of labour to exercise that undue influence. He thought he need hardly refute such an aspersion cast on those who were charged with carrying on the work of the National Union ; the resolution itself answered it, and entirely refuted the suspicion he referred to. The ballot was a distinct plank in the platform of the National Union.

If it was questioned why they had not taken this up as a distinct subject before, he might state that they expected and looked forward to, in the event of any Franchise Act being passed, that all necessary safeguards would accompany the passing of the Act, so that the people would fully and freely enjoy the benefits of the Act. However, for the considerations he alluded to, and those he had not mentioned, they had decided to press for the granting of a Ballot Act at the same time as the extension of

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

the Franchise Act, and in doing that carry out the programme started by their organization and their platform; that is, they desired to obtain for all classes of the country equal rights, and that without trenching on the rights of the older population of the country. They said that the Ballot Act would prove a good and desirable safeguard in securing freedom and purity of election, and, moreover, would ensure the free, unfettered expression of the will of the people. (Hear, hear.) It was to the will of the people that they looked as the foundation of the Government of the country, which should rest upon the principle which underlaid all their efforts, that they wished the will of the people to take the position it ought in the Government of the country. Although they found a big officer in the State who from time to time emphatically proclaimed that principle, there was, strange to say, considerable hesitation displayed in the application of the principle as far as the major portion of the population was concerned. (Hear, hear.) He thought that was what they maintained, that good government should rest upon the will of the people. The knowledge that proceeded from the hearts and the will of the people could alone enable the wisdom of the Legislature to direct its power as it should do. The three elements, knowledge, wisdom, and power, were the three essential elements in a good government. If one of these elements was missing or defective, good government could not result. If they looked at the past struggles of the people they would see that knowledge, wisdom, and power had proved successful. Whenever these had been wanting, their efforts had proved unavailing and not instructive, destruction and revolution had resulted. (Cheers.) If those present took the case of the country, they found they had the Raad to represent wisdom. (Laughter.) They had the President and the Executive Council to represent power; but it could not be said that they (the President, Executive Council, and the Raad) had the knowledge which was the mind and will of the people. Only a small section, the minority, were empowered to give effect to the public will in the Legislature. The result was that the major portion of the population was cut off from the

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

political page, and the effect on government and legislation was such as he need not describe to any one there.

Now, it was to remedy these dangerous effects that they were set upon, and in that work they claimed to have the support of every right-minded and honest man in the country. (Cheers.) The resolution he proposed to them was a means to that end, for it sought to supply the principle that they wanted to establish there, that the Government should rest upon the will of the people, to take up that position in the State necessary to establish good government in the country. They wanted the Legislature to have the benefit of the knowledge that proceeded from the hearts and minds and will of the people. The people would then obtain all the benefits of a Government, as it would then rest on right principles. These reasons had been expressed over and over again, and had obtained credence throughout the world. He had endeavoured to show that night that on the score of expediency this resolution was also worthy of consideration. The question he asked them to arrive at was that, strong in the justice of this request, they were determined to demand and insist upon a satisfactory reply. (Hear, hear.) There had been time enough for the consideration of the altered position of the affairs of the country, and ample time for the realisation of the fact that this position should be considered without delay. The people had faithfully rendered to the State what was due to the State, and the time had come when the State should faithfully render to the people what was due to the people. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. D. Holt said it was with extreme pleasure that he accepted the responsibility of supporting the resolution before the meeting. The question of ballot was undoubtedly one of the most important subjects that had been brought before the people by the Committee of the National Union. Whether it was advisable to make the question of the extension of the franchise to the Uitlander contingent on naturalisation, or to allow the Uitlander to stand on his own basis, was a matter of opinion; but to his mind the question of the franchise and the ballot should stand foremost in the programme of every political society. The essence of true

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

liberty undoubtedly stood on free and independent opinions, and true liberty could only exist by giving every man a right to record his vote without endangering his livelihood or his life. The ballot was the only means by which both could be secured. The English Government, although a sovereignty, was recognised as the most liberal government in Europe, because it does everything to safeguard the liberty and independence of the people in the matter of voting. Many people contended that if a man wished to adopt a certain platform he should do so in an open manner. He would agree with that were it not that freedom of speech or action oftentimes endangered a man's prospects. Man was born to rule, but when capital and influence were brought to bear on him, it frequently endangered his livelihood and prospects. There was one thing he would like to impress upon them with regard to the ballot. As an old Kimberley resident, he was firmly convinced that if the people of the Diamond Fields had had the ballot as they demanded years ago, Kimberley would not now stand in the miserable position which she does. He hoped, therefore, that the people of Johannesburg would see to it, that the same thing did not follow here, by doing their utmost to obtain the ballot, and so secure that freedom of expressing their desires at elections which was their birthright, without having to submit to the voice of the employer. As an employer, he might say that he trusted the people, and he hoped they would do all in their power to take away from employers the possibility of being able to interfere with their freedom of voting at elections. (Applause.) He had much pleasure in supporting the proposition before the meeting.

A WORKING MAN SPEAKS.

Mr. Raitt also supported the motion, and said he desired to express what he believed to be the opinion of the working men on that distinctly working man's question—the ballot. He believed that the attitude of the working men regarding that most important question, and the other questions agitated by the National Union to-day, was the same as when the National Union

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

was started. They were determined to have their rights and privileges, and at the same time to loyally uphold the independence of the State. He was of opinion that the working classes would hold on to this object with dogged tenacity until it had been attained. He did not know how any working man could withhold his support from the National Union, because it seemed to him that if any one would be benefited by the carrying out of the programme of that body, it was the working classes. He could only say, if, under the new *régime* they were asking for, the working classes were not the strongest body, it would be their own fault. (Applause.) He supported the franchise, because he believed it was the best thing for all parties concerned. In the first instance, he had not the slightest hesitation in saying he believed it the best thing for the Boers. (Applause.) He was bound to respect the Boers to a considerable extent, not so much perhaps for what they were at present, but for what they were capable of becoming. (Loud laughter.) He had not had the pleasure of being so intimately acquainted with the Boers of this country as other gentlemen who had preceded him on the platform, but he had lived with the burghers of the Cape Colony. He knew their social prejudices had been nearly done away with, and that there was little or no difference between the Boer farmers of the Cape Colony and their British neighbours. If there was any difference it was that the Boer, if anything, was more intelligent, more civilised. (Loud laughter.) This statement he was prepared to support by adducing a fact. (Oh, oh.) During the time when he was among these Boer farmers there was an election for the Cape Government Legislature. Among the candidates that were brought forward was one who pledged himself to support the most conservative measures. He was ignominiously kept at the bottom of the poll, whereas the other candidate, who was of a progressive nature, was placed at the top of the poll by the Boers. (A voice: 'What part?') It was in the Queenstown district in June, 1891, so far as he recollected. (Applause.) He believed the besetting sin of the Boers in this country was their conservatism, and if it was persisted in would

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

be their ruin. If they would adopt a wiser policy, and admit the new-comers with them into the franchise, it would certainly be their salvation, and instead of being backward and ignorant, they would be in a few years one of the most forward and progressive nations on the face of the earth. (Applause.) To come more particularly to the question that concerned himself and his fellows, he believed if the measures they were advocating became law, if the reforms the National Union was agitating for became the law of the State, the status of the working man in the Transvaal would be very much better than it was to-day. (Hear, hear.)

He regretted to say there was a feeling among some of the working classes against the *personnel* of the members of the Committee of the Transvaal Union. (Hear, hear.) Whether it was on good grounds or bad grounds, he was not prepared to say. Personally, he had very little sympathy with it, but he held that argument was no reason at all for them abstaining from supporting those measures. (Applause.) If there were working men who really believed there were certain persons in the Union who were working for selfish ends, with a political object, apparently it was more necessary to obtain the franchise so that they might have power to defeat their object. (Applause.) They should support the resolution and get the ballot, so that no influence could curtail their liberties. Mr. Holt had said that the ballot would secure independence of voting to the working man, but this was an opinion from which he differed. He thought that on the Rand there were a good number of working men who would vote according to their convictions, no matter what the employers might say or do, and if any one dared to interfere, they would most likely tell the meddler to mind his own business in language more forcible than elegant. Nevertheless, working men should secure the ballot, so as to protect their weaker comrades against intimidation. As to the National Union, he could only say that if they carried out the generous policy sketched out by them, they would have the cordial support of the working men. (Loud applause.)

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. Shanks, another Labour-Unionist, followed in the same strain.

This resolution was also carried without opposition.

TARIFF.

Mr. W. Hosken said the resolution he had been asked to propose was as follows :—

‘That this meeting earnestly directs the attention of the Government to the oppressive and unequal nature of the existing Customs Tariff, more especially as it bears upon the necessities of life, and respectfully requests the Government to introduce the required measures of relief and adjustment in the Volksraad, at an early date during the present session.’

He then proceeded to read a number of extracts from newspapers and other publications bearing on the subject in hand. In this State, he said, although we claimed to be under a Republican form of government, the mode of taxation was about as widely divergent from such a form of government as it was possible to be; and although for the present purpose he was willing to admit that through the Custom House might be found the readiest means for obtaining the revenue for the government of the State, yet he held that the tariff as it at present stood was manifestly unjust and unfair, and particularly so with regard to the working-class portions of the community. He would like to point out that in the first place the Transvaal was not an agricultural nor a manufacturing country, but essentially a mining country, and from an industrial and exporting standpoint it was nothing more. It could not even provide sufficient food for the inhabitants, whether black or white, and the only right policy for the State was to study the one great industry—the backbone of the country, and remove every obstacle from the path of that industry. What, however, did they find was the action of the Government towards that industry? They found that excessive duties were placed on articles of consumption necessary to that industry; and, worse still, they found most pro-

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

hibitive duties placed on food-stuffs necessary for the workers in this industry.

For instance, the item of cement, which costs in Portland about 5s. 6d. per cask, and which could be laid down in Johannesburg at 41s. to 42s. per cask, without special duty—they found the Government had placed a tax of 20s. per cask on that most necessary article. With regard to coke, which at home only cost 40s. per ton, the Government had put an extra duty of no less than £5 per ton on this almost indispensable article—in order to aid the local industry. (Laughter.) As to food-stuffs, an even more iniquitous state of affairs was found, for flour that costs in Australia about £10 per ton is taxed by the Government to the extent of 80 per cent. on the original cost of the article. Such a tax was unprecedented in the history of the civilised world. Bacon was also taxed to the extent of 200 per cent. and so on, he might say, throughout the whole commercial gamut. Yet in spite of everything the paternal Government of this Republic put a duty of 7½ per cent. on flour, and on top of that a special duty of 25s. per 100 lbs. The Government crowned its efforts in this direction, however, by the duty put on fresh eggs. First comes the general tax of 7½ per cent., and after that the special duty of 6d. per dozen. That was the policy of the Government, accepted by the Volksraad. The strongest expression of disapproval they could frame to condemn this state of things would not be out of keeping. With regard to manufactures the case was equally bad. It was well known that the Government here were strong protectionists. Protection had, however, been proved a failure in Australia and America, where they had been trying to bolster up their industries by protectionist tariffs. The consequence had been, however, failure and disaster instead of success and prosperity. He regretted that the one newspaper which had certainly in other respects and particularly regarding the franchise question, spoken with good sense, supported the Government in this baneful policy. And yet the worst had still to be told. Not only did the Government fleece and cripple the one legitimate industry of the country for the alleged purpose of supporting

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

half-a-dozen fictitious and non-existent ones, but they built up a large surplus out of the trade of the country. He thought he had said enough to induce them all to support the resolution now before the meeting.

Mr. W. P. Fraser, in seconding the resolution, pointed out that the question of taxation had been adopted as one of the leading planks in the platform of the National Union. He then quoted from the State accounts for 1892 to show that the Witwatersrand Goldfields contributed more than one-half of the entire revenue derived from import dues during that year, and paid one-half of the entire revenue of the telegraph service, and concluded by stating that the people were not represented, and did not receive adequate consideration at the hands of the Government.

A KNOCK FOR THE NETHERLANDS.

Mr. Harry Solomon, in supporting the motion, at the outset of his remarks referred to a few paragraphs that had appeared in the papers concerning the National Union. It had been said there were certain differences of opinion among the members of the Committee. He would like to take this opportunity of saying that in all unions and associations all over the world they would find certain differences of opinion as regarded detail, but on the main questions, the great principles of the National Union, they were agreed—there was no difference of opinion. (Applause.) The great principles that were their foundation were, first of all, the franchise. That had been remarked upon. The next great principle was the principle that when taxes were levied upon the inhabitants of any country, that one particular section of the inhabitants should not pay the tax, and the remaining portion go scot-free. These two great principles, with the one also of the maintenance of the independence of this Republic, were their foundation, and there were no differences of opinion on these points. The question of taxation was a great one. The franchise was a great question also, and perhaps it was to a certain extent a sentimental one. But this question of taxation was one that

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

affected their pockets, and that perhaps was the greatest question of all. (Laughter, and hear, hear.) It had been said, one of the reasons why the Government passed those iniquitous measures of taxation was that they wished to protect the old inhabitants of the country. They had been called new-comers, but they were new-comers no longer. How could the Government for one moment say they wished to protect the inhabitants of this country by passing such iniquitous measures? They would find they were taxing, not only the so-called new-comers, but a large proportion of the burghers of this country, because many were not in a position to grow cereals on their own farms, and they had to come into town to buy them in shops at prices which had, of course, taxes upon them. He thought they would agree that the Government of this country and the old inhabitants had had a warm time of it that evening, but he claimed for the burghers of this country they were not too conservative. They were intelligent, but the unfortunate part was their judgment was warped by the people in power, and because no opportunity was given those people to come and see us and know us as we would like. Another grievance was that the majority of the members of the Volksraad had never been in Johannesburg. He believed it would be better for the Government of this country if the members of the Volksraad would come here and spend a few days with us and see what our wants are. (Hear, hear.) If that policy was followed by the members of the Volksraad, a better state of affairs would exist.

There was one question which affected them all, and that was the question of the Netherlands Railway, and he would like to say a few words on that. (Loud applause.) He had always held that one of the most iniquitous things among the many this Government had done had been the granting of concessions, and the concession of the Netherlands Railway he believed the most iniquitous of all. (Applause.) Supposing for argument's sake the Government took away the tax on cereals, they were taxed all the same, because the Netherlands Company charged such a prohibitive, such an exorbitant rate from the borders of this

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

country to the different towns, and he could not understand how the Government did not insist under the terms of the concession that the rates should be lowered. Whether they took cereals, fruit, sheep, or any material thing they liked, the rate was a prohibitive one, and the extraordinary part was the Netherlands people, for their own benefit, could not see by lowering the rates they would have at least twelve times the amount of traffic on their line. He was sure if the rates charged by the Netherlands Company for the conveyance of goods were lowered to a legitimate rate they would make at least twelve times the profit they were making at present. (Hear, hear.) Take the rate on coal—3*d.* a mile. The thing was absurd. If they charged 1*d.* a ton per mile, they would carry three times the amount, and the reduction would pay handsome dividends to the mines. Not only was the rate bad, but he thought the management of the Company was a good deal worse. (Applause.) Nothing he could say would be too bad. There was no bad management in any part of the world, in any particular business he could name, that was equalled by the bad management of the Netherlands Railway. To give a minor instance. If they went to the Park Station and asked for a return ticket for Pretoria, even if they wanted to pay the full rate, they could not give it. (Laughter and hear, hear.) If such a small thing as that was true, it was not necessary for him to go more fully into the bad management. They should remove the Board of Management from Amsterdam to the Transvaal, and then there might be some chance of having a grasp of the situation.

There was one thing more the Government should do, and that was to buy the Netherlands people out. It was a shame that the people here should pay these rates, and all the other money, which went out of the country into the pockets of foreigners. The buying up of the concession would become a necessity some time or other in any case, and the present opportunity should therefore not be neglected. The sooner the Government took possession of the railway and ended this mismanagement the better it would be for the whole country.

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

Generally speaking, he was of opinion that if the old inhabitants of the country knew them a little better, mixed and moved among them and grew to understand them, they would soon find the new-comers asked only for what was theirs by right. One of those rights was that the taxation should be borne by all alike and equally. If any particular section was favoured, the consequences could not be good. If the President and those in power would treat them with justice, they would assist in the good government of the country, and the result would be for the benefit of all. (Applause.)

This resolution also met with the unanimous support of the meeting.

Mr. R. A. Bettington then moved the concluding resolution, as follows:—

‘That these resolutions be conveyed by a deputation from the members of the Committee to the Executive without delay, asking them to declare urgency, and deal with these matters in the present session of the Volksraad.’

There was only one point, he thought, to be dealt upon, and that was with regard to the duty of the deputation, who should be urged and commissioned to speak to the Government in no faltering tones or hesitating manner as to the immediate necessity of the Government acceding to the most moderate demands they would be commissioned to make on behalf of the National Union. (Applause.) ‘We are simply weary of this waiting,’ he continued. ‘The ass is tired of groaning under his burden.’ (Hear, hear.) ‘I think I can speak for myself.’ (Loud laughter.) ‘And I think I can answer for you.’ (Renewed laughter, in which the whole house heartily joined.) ‘Week after week, month after month, year after year, we have been wearied by this vague and idiotic treatment—in fact, we have been treated worse than a pack of school-boys. There is not one single boys’ school in England that would have tolerated the restrictions that we have been put under, but, in spite of what we had to endure, we have carried out our programme faithfully to the end without interfering with the Government. But the time has now arrived

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

when we must put our foot down, and tell the Government that we are not prepared to wait any longer is this matter. For myself, I have the greatest objection to inflammatory speeches; I am a man of peace. (Laughter.) But there is a limit to human endurance, and I think that limit has now been reached with regard to this question. And I hope by the unanimous manner in which you will receive this resolution that you will show the Executive that it is their duty, in carrying out their instructions, to let the Government know that the time for waiting is past, and the Government must make up their minds to meet us now.' (Loud applause.)

Mr. W. H. Rogers seconded the resolution, and was of opinion that the Union could not do better than select the same gentlemen to form the deputation who proceeded to Pretoria the last time in that capacity; and trusted that in the event of their being appointed they would adopt the same attitude with the Government as on the previous occasion. 'We were firm,' continued the speaker, 'and told the Government we wanted the franchise, and we meant to get it.' (A Voice: 'But you didn't get it!' and laughter.) However, they meant to get it before long, and if they continued to ask for it the Government would at last have to comply. Mr. Solomon was of opinion that if the members of the Volksraad were to visit Johannesburg more frequently and become acquainted with the inhabitants that they would be inclined to act in a more liberal spirit towards the Uitlanders. To such a proposition he would say, 'God forbid!' for on a certain occasion after a visit to Johannesburg paid by some of the members of the Volksraad, when approached on the subject of a reduction of imposts they replied,—

'Nie! Allemagtig! Die kerels is allemaal rijk; hulle kan betaal.'

('No, by Jove! These chaps are all rich; they can pay.') (Laughter and applause.) The time would come, however, when 'we' will be in that place (the Raad) and 'they' will be out of it. (Applause.)

The resolution was then put, and carried unanimously.

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

CONCLUSION.

The Chairman said it only remained for him to declare the meeting closed, that was to say, it was adjourned until they were called together once more to discuss some other subjects, when he trusted they would meet with the same unanimity that had been displayed that evening.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman, proposed by Mr. Rose (Vice-President of the Labour Union), and unanimously accorded, brought a somewhat lengthy but interesting meeting to a conclusion.

REPORT

From 'Star,' Johannesburg, July 21st, 1894.

TRANSVAAL NATIONAL UNION.

GREAT MASS MEETING.—THE VOICE OF THE RAND.

MR. LEONARD'S ELOQUENT SPEECH.

MR. WESSELS' SPLENDID PROTEST.

THE FATAL THIRTEEN.

IMPORTANT RESOLUTIONS.

THE Chairman: Men of Johannesburg, before I introduce the business of our meeting, I wish to address a few words by way of earnest appeal to you to maintain order. (Hear, hear.) We do not wish any disorder in the proceedings of this meeting, because if we had any it would be the first occasion on which there had been disorder at a meeting of the National Union. (Hear, hear.) I therefore appeal to you to assist the Chairman in endeavouring to preserve order throughout the assembly. (Hear, hear.) Before going further, I should like to read a telegram which has been received this evening officially from Pretoria. I do not mean from the Government, but to us as a Union, and it is to the effect that the political prisoners, who have now been released, will be here by next Wednesday's coach. Now, gentlemen, I have one word more to say by way of introduction before I make my plunge *in medias res*, and that is to explain why we have not been able to put off this meeting, in order that you might be free to go and have the treat of listening to that charming singer, Miss MacIntyre. This meeting, as you are aware, has been frequently postponed, and we had made all our

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

arrangements before we knew, from the Caledonian Society, that the concert was fixed for this evening. Much as we should like to have been able to give you the pleasure, and to have it ourselves, of listening to that charming singer, we felt we could not consent to put off this meeting longer. (Hear, hear.) After an interval of eight or ten months, we are met once more in the old familiar place, surrounded by the old familiar faces, and, I regret to say, to discuss the old familiar theme of our political disabilities. (Hear, hear.)

Gentlemen, you remember on the occasion of our last meeting that a new line of policy was laid down, and explained in an eloquent manner by Mr. Leonard, as to the procedure we intended to adopt in the interval. The previous year of our existence as a Union was spent, as you know, in endeavouring to obtain public opinion on our side, and in endeavouring to form that opinion. I do not think that year was badly spent, because we saw as the result of it a very much larger interest taken in public affairs. Political meetings that used to be dissolved in Mr. Meyer's time were attended by crowds, and a large amount of intelligence was displayed in finding out, in ascertaining the proceedings of the Government and the Volksraad, and in making ourselves acquainted with the laws that were being passed. At the end of that period we found it necessary to adopt a change of front, and for the last eight or ten months the Union has been spending itself in much more moderate procedure, but no less useful. By means of pamphlets, by means of the press, by means of correspondence, we have addressed the Dutch Boer of the country, who, after all, is the great power-holder to whom the supreme appeal must be made. We have endeavoured to educate them as to our grievances in simple and homely Dutch language, appealing to their common sense. We have pointed out the incidence of taxation upon us; the iniquity of concessions; the many grievances of a political character which we have all suffered from; and above all our need as to the franchise in being represented in the councils of the country. (Cheers.) In addition to that work a good deal of another kind has been done in

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

examining the laws as they appeared in the Gazette. Sub-Committees sat upon them, adjusted, and reported upon them to the Committee, and we were thus able at our own political meetings to bring an amount of intelligence upon that subject which we did not before possess. In addition to educating the burgher of the country, we endeavoured to ascertain his own views by means of correspondence in the various towns and districts of this country, and we have been able to ascertain the views of the country population, thus bringing the new and the old population into touch with each other.

That does not appear a very heroic or grand programme, but it is a very useful one. It is necessary if we are to educate the people of the country as to our disabilities and encourage them to take our side of the question, and it is bound, sooner or later, to come to the front. We should make it appear that with regard to the National Union the membership has increased by thousands. (Prolonged cheering.) The Executive Committee that was selected and appointed permanently, met to discuss the various political events of the Transvaal.

So much for the work that has been done. Now as to the general and important measures undertaken by the Committee. We prepared a memorial, a petition to the Government, asking for the granting of the franchise. That memorial was signed by 13,000 inhabitants of the Rand. Now, gentlemen, that was an important document, and the reception it received at the hands of the Volksraad has marked an important epoch in the political history of this country. I propose, for a very short time, to direct your attention to the contents of that document. First of all, I should like to point out that the numerous signatures to that document prove two things. First of all, the earnestness of the people—the real underlying desire of the people to possess the franchise—and, secondly, that the Transvaal National Union was not dead or inert. It has been sometimes said to me, ‘What is the use of bothering about politics? Attend to your daily work, go to your mines and those things; let politics take care of themselves.’ Now it appears to me that is not a very earnest view

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

to take of public affairs. It may be all very well in settled countries, where the form of government is well understood, and where it is buried deep in the heart of the people, and where there is a large leisured class to devote themselves to studying public questions ; though, democrat as I am, I think the people should take an interest in the political affairs of any country, especially a country like this, where our political principles are in a state of solution. It is virtually necessary for every man to interest himself in the public affairs of the country in which he lives. Well, gentlemen, the Transvaal National Union presented that memorial. It was signed by 13,000 persons, and the Transvaal National Union is not ashamed of the action which it took. It is proud of it. Those 13,000 persons were men anxious to take an interest in the affairs of the country, and those persons who signed the petition were well aware of what they did. They were taking an important step, and that step was for the good of the country.

Now let us see what we asked for in the petition. In the first place we agreed to take the oath of allegiance to this State, and that is an important departure. We cannot be subjects of two States at one time. We must be the subjects of one State, and that is laid down as a principle of the National Union. As a first principle, the National Union, in its petition, said we were willing to take the oath of allegiance to the South African Republic. In the second place we were willing to agree to a moderate property qualification, and in the third place to a permanent residential clause. These then are the principles we put forward: the oath of allegiance, the property qualification (a moderate one), and the permanent residential clause. Now I think these are reasonable demands, and I think they should have been considered. We did not expect to get all we asked for all at once, but we did think our petition would receive respectful consideration. It was respectfully worded and moderate in its demands. Now who are these 13,000 men who signed the petition? They are of all classes. There is the miner who risks his life in the bowels of the earth searching for gold, there is the

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

financier, the mechanic, and, in fact, every class of inhabitant of the town. And what have they done for the country? I might say, as it is said of Westminster Abbey, if you look for our monuments, look around you. These men dug into the earth for the wealth of the country. They made the place what it is, although they found it a howling wilderness. These were the men who had come from all quarters of the globe—from Australia, America, Europe, and Africa itself—men who had come to this State to stay, not men who had come to make their money and go away, as has frequently been said (applause)—men who had brought to the State all their own institutions, their churches and clubs and hospitals, men who had come to make their homes here. (Cheers.) These were the men who had signed the petition. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, we hear a great deal about the old Voortrekkers. (Hear, hear.) What did they do? They did a great deal, gentlemen. They reclaimed this land from the barbarian and the wild beast. (Hear, hear.) But what has the new voortrekker done in his turn? (Applause.) He has brought energy and life and wealth to the State, to build up its prosperity and establish the hives of industry that now exist here (applause); and has brought about a realisation, I was almost going to say, of the wildest dreams of avarice. (Applause.) Above all, gentlemen, let us consider who these men were politically. (Hear, hear.) They were the subjects of that Power which has performed one of the most magnanimous acts of modern history, the Power that in the hour of defeat gave back its independence to the State which now refuses the franchise to its subjects. (Hear, hear, and applause.) All these were the men who signed that petition, and their petition should have had a very different reception. (Cheers.) I confess that when I read of the reception which had been accorded to the petition, my usual cheerful optimism disappeared from view, and my heart sank like lead. I felt that here at last was a parting of the ways. (Hear, hear.) I saw very little hope, and great difficulty in getting a little light into our political dilemma. And I saw different treatment

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

accorded the Dutch in other colonies, their demand for equal rights conceded, parliamentary rights granted, and the Dutch language granted a place in the schools in the Cape Colony. When I tell you that Sir Henry de Villiers and the Hon. J. H. Hofmeyer, those two eminent politicians, are Dutchmen, you will better understand this. In the other colonies, and in America, there are no race distinctions. (Applause.) Whatever nationality a man is, as long as he helps the country he is recognised. As an instance of this, I need only mention the name of Her Majesty's representative in Pretoria, Sir Jacobus de Wet. (Cheers.) What we want is the union of the two great European races in this country. In the Orange Free State Republic this principle has been long recognised. The Chairman of the Volksraad is an Englishman, or rather I should say, a Scotchman. Another leader is Mr. Fletcher, who is a German; and the leader of the Educational Department is a Scotchman. I mention this as an instance of the cordiality existing between the Dutch and English in those parts of South Africa.

Now I come to the second great event—at any rate the second great measure which was taken up by the National Union. That was the natural and logical outcome of the rejection of the petition by the Volksraad, viz., the address signed by 13,000 inhabitants. (Applause.) When we found that we were continually regarded as aliens, despite of protest, despite of prayers, despite of petitions, that we were not to be allowed to share in the government of this State, then we said we must turn to the representative of our own Sovereign. (Loud applause.) The first petition was signed by thousands, the second by thousands more. What we desire is to work our own salvation in our own way. That has ever been our programme, and we still desire to do it. When we were told that that could not be, we naturally turned to the representative of our own Sovereign. (Loud applause.) I venture to say that if the first petition had been received in a spirit of brotherliness by the Volksraad, if they had held out the right hand of fellowship, if they had said, 'Well, we can't give you all you ask for, but if you are patient we will consider your

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

demands,' then the second address would never have been presented. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Now, gentlemen, our position is clearly defined. We are aliens, we are told that we cannot become subjects of the State. I am not going to refer to the incident which gave rise to the presentation of the address to Sir Henry Loch. You were the immediate cause of it when you were commandeered. That is a matter of history. I am not going to speak at length of the celebrated decision given by the Supreme Court in the matter of these prisoners. As you are aware, we decided to appeal to the courts of the country, and to take the case before them for adjudication. The result of that was an adverse decision of our claims, and thereupon we found that we no longer had any case for courts, but future appeals would have to be made by diplomatic interventions. Now, that being so, we are bound by the law as it is administered. We profess to be law-abiding citizens, and we are content to be so. While that law is there we have to obey it, and that we will do. But there is one incident which occurred in the course of the trial which is a very important one, as bearing upon our position and on the legality of the action of the Government. It appeared to me that the decision of the High Court laid down a rule of action and of guidance which confirmed an important bulwark to the liberties of all who are aliens in this country. I refer to the dictum of the Chief Justice that the High Court was open to aliens and to burghers alike in this country to seek redress. As you are aware, the question was raised that the High Court had no jurisdiction in this commandeering business, that judgment is so important that I take the liberty of making a quotation from it to this meeting. The Chief Justice in the course of his judgment said it would be a strange state of things indeed that subjects of this State were to be denied here what was granted in the Cape Colony. Every subject, he said, however mean, would be protected by that Court. (Cheers.) These principles underlie the three great departments of this State. There is wisdom in these remarks, they should be inscribed in letters of gold, that may be remembered for all time. I am not going to dwell longer

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

upon the incident which gave rise to that decision. There are legal gentlemen on the platform this evening who will address you, and all I now propose to do is to call on Mr. Leonard to move the first resolution. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. W. Leonard, Q.C., who was received with great cheering, moved :—

‘That this meeting of the Transvaal National Union, while repudiating the unfounded charge made against the Union of seeking to undermine the independence of the State, hereby protests most emphatically against the recent action of the Volksraad. First, in respect of its action with regard to the petition of thirteen thousand inhabitants of Witwatersrand, praying for the granting of a reasonable franchise, and, second, in debarring for all time all Uitlanders and their children from possessing the rights of citizens while they continue to bear the chief burdens of the State. This meeting declares that such action is calculated to retard the union between the old and new inhabitants which is essential to the progress of the Republic, and therefore urges upon all who value the rights of citizenship to join the Union in its endeavours to obtain those rights which their proved loyalty to the State and their services in raising it to its present position of wealth and importance entitle them to demand. And this meeting finally pledges itself to continue the most strenuous efforts to obtain from the Government a Constitution, based upon democratic principles, and not to cease such efforts until the desired end has been obtained.’

He said : Ladies and gentlemen, and I am glad indeed that I can say that, for it is an excellent thing to see the interest which the ladies take in the proceedings of the Union—ladies and gentlemen, I can only ask you to bear with me for a short time while I address you upon subjects which are very dear to my heart, and, I am sure, dear to those men who are looking up to this platform to-night. It is not necessary for me to repeat the appeal which the Chairman has made to you, to maintain order, because I have

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

all along—and I have all along been in close contact with those who are called ‘the mob’—I have all along said that we can meet in Johannesburg and discuss our political affairs, our future, and the destinies of ourselves and those who are coming after us in this country, like men imbued with the dignity of the cause we are advocating. Johannesburg has kept order, and will always keep order as long as it receives justice. (Great cheering.) Gentlemen, the first part of the resolution which I have read, and which I am going to ask you to adopt, repudiates, in strong language, the charges which have been made against us, and all who are with us in our cause, of attempting to undermine the independence of the State. I know that it is not necessary for me to tell you that we do not meet in public, we do not agitate in private, for the purpose of undermining the independence of the State ; but it is necessary for me, as speaking to an outside public as well as those who are here to-night, to say something regarding those charges. Those charges are not made by the timid Boer outside, who does not know us—more’s the pity—not by the people in Pretoria, but from the men of our own household. (Cheers.) They are men who know that those charges are false and baseless. The men who make these charges are men who should stand shoulder to shoulder with us, and not make it manifest to the world that there is the slightest division in this new population. These men are paid scribes ; I do not blame them altogether ; they write what they are paid for. These are the men who send forth to the world these malicious falsehoods which make us appear odious. I know, gentlemen, that recent events occurred in this country, in Pretoria notably, which have irritated the people of the country, who have not really seen with their own eyes what took place. Now, I was there, gentlemen, and saw the whole thing with my own eyes, and I tell you here that every story that has been spread about the country to the effect that there was a seditious riot on that occasion is wrong. (Cheers.) What took place is this. There were a number of men in Pretoria, and more especially young and excitable men, whose feelings had been roused by the occur-

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

rences which had taken place in connection with the commandeering. (Cries of 'Quite right.') I do not say whether they were right or wrong; that is for you to say; but, at all events, their feelings had been roused to the highest pitch, and these young men who had been put into the position your Chairman has described—their feelings were roused owing to the position to which they had been driven, by the hardship and also the indignity—for there is some indignity—of being commandeered; these young men lost their heads. (Cries of 'No.') If you will allow me I will make it very plain to you what I mean. I am not saying it was wrong, I am not saying it was misplaced, but there were some of them lost their heads so far as to do one or two little things which might be construed into an insult to the President. (Cheers.) There was no intention, I have satisfied myself from personal contact with some of them, and from my own view of what took place, I am satisfied there was no more intention to insult the President or hurt the national feeling of the Boer, than there is in my mind. But it is out of such incidents as these that stories are manufactured and mischief is created throughout the country. I know I am speaking for the men when I say there was no insult meant to the head of the State, much less to the man who, with all his faults as a man, is still the President of the State. (Cheers.) Then it has been said of us that we are Imperialists and Jingoists, and that Rhodes is pulling the strings (laughter), and that our only object is, as I said before, to undermine the independence of the State. Now, gentlemen, I tell you this—I am speaking in public in no mistaken strain—that Mr. Rhodes has no more to do with the politics of Johannesburg than a child of two years of age at your home. Mr. Rhodes, I repeat, and this is, of course, private information, Mr. Rhodes has large pecuniary interests in connection with a leading financial corporation here. I leave it to you to say whether implication in financial concerns or connection with financial corporation implies any connection with the politics of Johannesburg. Mr. Rhodes, has not, I am perfectly certain. As to our being Imperialists, let me say a few words about that.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

People will not remember that the thoughts of men are widened by the process of the sun ; 1879 and 1880 are not 1883 and 1884, and unfortunately the Dutchmen of the country won't remember that it is not possible for the conditions of 1879 and 1880 to be restored to-day. They forget that since then South Africa has undergone an absolute revolution in its political feelings and conditions. The charge of seeking to establish Imperialism in this country is a charge that it may suit some malignant writers and some public speakers to level at us. There is no room for Imperialism in South Africa. There is room for all the love we have for the land of our forefathers, but there is no room for Imperialism as an Imperial rule in this country. If they have thought that, the speech of Mr. Rhodes some ten years ago is an answer. He said that the Imperialist factor as Imperialism must be eliminated from South Africa. We have mixed races here, and there is no room for Imperialism. I wish it to be understood that I speak for the Union, and every charge that is made as to our Jingoism, Imperialism and our Rhodesian principles, I hurl back at them. We have our programme before us, and we have never worked from any such principles as those. There is one incident connected with this history, gentlemen—I am trying to be short, but sometimes one's words run away with him when he feels strongly upon a subject—there is one incident connected with this incident as I said, which I cannot pass by, as a South African of South Africans, without a word of emphatic protest. I refer to the short debate which took place in the Cape Parliament recently, and apropos of what ? It was a dastardly attack upon a man who had served his country loyally. (Cheers.) I want you, gentlemen, to give me your support, when I say that the Cape Parliament had better leave us alone. (Hear, hear.) I know them. Gentlemen, I know the members of the Cape Parliament, I know their antecedents, and know what they are. There are amongst them men who would be traitors to their own flesh and blood, men who would inflict an injury upon their dearest friend, if they could derive any personal benefit thereby. I know them well ; I have sat amongst them. I know Mr. Van der Walt, a dear old gentle-

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

man—(cries of ‘Question!’)—Now let me explain. I say he is a dear old man, and I know what was in his mind at the time. He belongs to the Dopper party, a party to which Mr. Kruger belongs. He must have read some paragraph in a newspaper, and gathered from it that Mr. Kruger had been insulted, and in the bottom of his heart he thought the insult was offered to one of his own flesh and blood, and he wished to resent it. (Cheers.) In the midst of all this, it is pleasing to know that there are papers amongst us of a different kind. (Hear, hear.) One of these papers I allude to is the evening newspaper—(loud and prolonged cheering)—and another is a weekly paper. (Renewed cheering.) Whatever may be the faults of these papers, and it is hard to find a paper without its faults, or against whose editor some one has not a grudge (hear, hear), these two papers have stood to the cause like men. (Cheers.) I want you to take it from me, gentlemen, that I am expressing the voice of the National Union in these remarks regarding those two papers, and that they may take it as a vote of thanks. (Cheers.) There is another paper which some of you may not know as well as I do; whose editor you may not know as intimately as I do; it is a Dutch paper printed at Pretoria, and is called *Land en Volk*. (Applause.) In that paper many things, no doubt, are printed in the way of correspondence and even leading matter which may not commend themselves to our judgment; but I know from my close contact with its editor, and my constant perusal of its columns, that it is the paper which represents the Dutch feeling of the State (hear, hear), the opinion to which we may appeal, and to which I mean to appeal. (Cheers.) It has been said we have not the capital of the Rand with us. Now, what is capital? Capital is the accumulation of property got by other people’s labour. (Hear, hear.) By itself it is simply scrip or cash locked up in safes. It depends for its continued existence upon the labour of the thousands of people whom it collects around it. It is a thing without which the world of industry could not get on at all. (Hear, hear.) It is the part of thousands of people to work for it; but it is not its part to say to those who labour: ‘You shall be slaves.’ Many big capitalists

might not mind if there were a million people, whose working status was that of slaves; in fact they might prefer that they were slaves. One thing capital cannot demand. Its power stops when it touches the springs which govern human feeling. Men will not be treated as slaves, and when capital touches that status, its hand becomes palsied. It has been said of us that our principles are idle and false; they are described as Jingoism and Imperialism. For the rest it is simply our flesh and blood that is speaking—our heart, bone, and sinew. We are a big population and increasing every day. What we want is to be free men in a free State. No malignity, no venom, no intrigue, will stop us, be it to our death or doom. Our Chairman, gentlemen, said a few words just now about what might appear the inconsistent attitude that we took up in reference to the political situation at the present time. I have heard it said in Pretoria, ‘How can you tell us (by “us” I mean the other side; no, not the other side, I hope, but the Dutch side)—how can you tell us that you want to be citizens of this State, that you ask for the franchise; and then, on the very first occasion of trouble and difficulty, you rush to the High Commissioner with your grievances?’

The Chairman, gentlemen, has more or less anticipated me in what I was going to say, but I will repeat it in a few words. My view of the matter is that the position is an extremely plain one. You may excuse my reference to a case that was argued in court, an illustration that occurred to me, that I ventured to address to the Bench. I told the court that the position which the Government invited us to assume was that of a partnership in the State. Unfortunately for the Government, it was not the partnership sanctioned by the wisdom of both ancient and modern lawyers, being repudiated as unsound. It was not that partnership sanctioned by every sort of enterprise and capital. It was not that kind of partnership, but it was the partnership of the lion and the jackal. (Loud laughter.) The essential basis of this leonine partnership consisted in the stipulation that one partner took all the profits, if any, and the other bore all the losses, if any.

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

Now, gentlemen, I do not say that our position is exactly that in this State. I used it merely as an illustration, and if the commandeering law had gone through upon this basis, it would have been the best illustration in the world. Under the law we have, as it is, to bear the burden of every denizen of the State. We bear the burden and heat of the day in producing the gold which the country yields, but there is one duty which only citizens can be called upon to render, that is the duty of risking their lives in military service. With the greatest respect to the Chief Justice, I maintain that this is the law of nations, I say that it is difficult to perform military service as a duty to the State, when we are denied the rights of citizenship; when we are called upon to render military service without having the rights of citizenship, then we are justified in falling back on our position as aliens. There is no inconsistency in taking up that position. We are prepared to fight, but if we are going to do so without being citizens, we are not going to do so on the terms of the partnership between the lion and the jackal.

The object of the address presented to the Volksraad, signed by 13,000 men, was nothing more or less than to show the people of this State that if they would take our hands, we were not going to keep our hands behind our backs. The object of this meeting is to show them that we are prepared to hold them out again. If they will take them in a friendly spirit, then they will have a body of soldiers here second to none in South Africa. But before they claim our services as soldiers of the country they must make us sons of the country. I for one, when I heard of the outbreak in the north, thought it would be a noble thing for Johannesburg to equip a force and present it to the Government, but the attitude of the Government is such, unfortunately, that we do not know even if they would accept our gifts. (Hear, hear.) That was the feeling in my heart, and it was the feeling I thought I would like to see in the heart of every man here. Now, gentlemen, as I have said, the hostility is not on our side, the fear of trouble is not on our side. (Hear, hear.) In all the troublous times of the past few weeks I have steadily said to the

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

people at Pretoria that there would be no trouble in Johannesburg. (Great cheering.) It is the old story of the wicked man fleeing when no man pursueth (laughter), all the talk about the guarding of camps in Pretoria (laughter), all the talk about rebellion in Johannesburg is, I am afraid, but one of the signs of a guilty conscience. (Laughter.) Our policy is not rebellion; our policy is written so that all men may read. Our policy is the true policy of South Africans, and it is the only policy which the Transvaal Boer and the inhabitant of Johannesburg can ever hope to carry out to a successful issue. I am here to-night on behalf of the Union to preach that policy—that policy consists in the broadening of the basis of the Government, of adapting the constitution in a new country to the needs of a new country, the taking in of the sinew and bone and strength, which come with a new population, a fusion of populations to the arriving at one common end—the good of South Africa. (Great cheers.)

This is not the place, nor this the time, to talk to you about a United South Africa, and for my own part I do not think that in the lifetime of those who are here to-night we shall see a United South Africa in the sense of one flag; but there is a bigger union, and that is a union of everything that goes to make for common prosperity, and there is a bigger union still, a union of sentiment of heart, and that union we can have in South Africa (hear, hear), if these people will listen to words of wisdom, and take wisdom as their guide. That is a policy which will meet with the approval of every man here, I know. (Cheers). It may or may not be opportune to mention it now, but I think there are signs that the policy is being recognised by the other side, and will be acted upon one of these days, so as to enable us to meet our friends among the Dutch with the common object of making the State great. (Hear, hear.) I cannot tell you, gentlemen, because it is impossible to pick out all the details of conversation—it is impossible to state every point; it is impossible to state how suggestions are made to you—but I am very close to many men who are leaders in the State, and represent the other side, and I say, if we wait and watch the

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

result of the next elections for the Volksraad, which take place this year, I am sanguine you will see a change—as great a change as when the sun rises on the darkness of the morning. (Loud cheers.) I may be wrong—things may falsify every word I say—but the feeling is implanted in my mind that we have every reason to hope that that consummation will be reached. That is why I can wait with a freer conscience and a fuller heart. I preach to you to-night the advisability of standing by the good old South African policy which I have advocated. I believe the time is coming when we will find the bonds drawn closer between the new and the old populations of this State than they have ever been drawn before. What we want we have told you so often, and we tell you to-night, probably for the last time—(great cheering)—what we want is nothing more than a Republic in deed and in fact—(cheers)—a Republic ‘broad based upon the people’s will’—(Right)—the people and not one little section of the population, but the people representing every man who comes to this country and is prepared to say, ‘I have come here to stay, and this is my land.’ (Cheers.) Gentlemen, it sounds absurd for us to be telling each other that we have been denied a Republic like that, considering that the very name of this State is the South African Republic. What right have they on the other side to arrogate to themselves that name? What right have they to say the South African Republic shall be a Republic composed of a small section of the people of South Africa. (Cheers.) They have no such right. I appeal to their history. I appeal to their love of liberty. I appeal to their past, to the deeds of their forefathers, to their own Constitution as written in the statute-book. I appeal to everything they have done till within the last few years. I appeal to their sense of justice to admit us as citizens of the South African Republic. (Loud cheers.) It is in this spirit that the National Union is talking to them to-night.

I know there are many men who were under the impression that there was going to be a display of fireworks. (Voice, ‘Ikona.’) I know, gentlemen, that there are some people to be

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

found in every population who like the more or less brilliant display side of politics. That is not the work of statesmen. That is not the work of men. We recognise the responsibility of the situation. That is not the work of men who want to do that solid hard work which men do who feel what they owe to their fellow men. (Cheers.) We go to these people in the Transvaal, and we ask them—possibly, as I said before, for the last time—to admit us. We are knocking at the door. We give them the guarantee of our character. We give them the guarantee that the great majority of us, I believe, were born on South African soil. We give them the guarantee that there is no man who asks for the franchise who does not mean to make the country his own. We give them the guarantee which is to be found in our record in the past as a law-abiding population. We give them the guarantee that is to be found in the fact that this population has made the wealth and strength of the country. We ask them upon those grounds, and for those reasons, to admit us to a political partnership. And, as I told you, I am sanguine that this last appeal is not going to be unheard.

The day has gone by when we can be stigmatised as a population of fortune-hunters—a vagrant population that came here one day ; a population who I believe were once described as the scum of European cities. The population to a great extent have come here to stay, and those who have not come to stay will, I am sorry to say, in a great majority of cases be forced to. (Laughter.) If ever there were questions of the permanency of the inhabitants, of their good character, of their good qualities, you will find the answer here. If you want the monument, as your Chairman puts it, look around. I know there is one obstacle which stands in the way, or which you think stands in the way, and that is that you will have to take the oath of allegiance to this State, and become citizens of this State alone. I feel, and you feel that it is to renounce the land of your forefathers, but it always has been done, and it is necessary in the creation of new worlds that this should be done. And what is this act of renunciation, what are these feelings that awaken sentiments of

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

endearment to our countries in us? It is a devotion to long records of deeds past of valour, devotion to history and to literature, and you cannot strip a man of these things, no matter what happens. Even if you take an oath of allegiance to this State you can never forget what you are, where you are, and the race you sprang from. It may be unpleasant to take the oath of allegiance to a new state, but it is necessary, and I know that if one were to ask each man here, I think that if it were necessary, he would join hand in hand with the others and become a citizen of this State. Whatever may be the proportion of men who might hesitate to do this; whatever reluctance or wringing of hearts there might be over making this concession, there is yet a strong feeling of South African freedom in this place, and by Government taking into the State those who are imbued with this feeling, the Transvaal may yet become the dominant factor in South African politics. (Hear, hear.)

What would be our value if we were in this country as citizens and not as aliens? Do you think questions like this Northern war—that unfortunate miserable business—(hear, hear)—would cause trouble to the State? (No, no.) Would the Swazieland question trouble the State? (No, no.) Could there be complications with England? (No, no.) Even the Delagoa Bay question would become comparatively easy of solution. (Hear, hear.) That is the aid we are able to offer the Government of this State—the aid we do offer it to-night. (Hear, hear.) Instead of the Republic we offer to create in this country, what have we? It is painful to turn from the contemplation of the picture fancy paints of what might be to what actually is. (Hear, hear.) What have we here? A Republic on paper. (Laughter.) We have what might aptly be described as a Cæsarism of autocracy. (Applause.) We have every sort of abuse that could be created under an autocracy existing here under the name of a Republic. (Applause.) There is one truly free body in the country — only one. That one is the Executive Council. (Laughter). The one institution which it is the object of democracy to deprive of its freedom, is actually the only one

that is absolutely free. It is by that body that feelings of distrust are engendered between us and the Boers.

The Boers are told to remain quiet, and leave the Government to govern them and guard their liberty. We are told that we are not fit to take part in the government, and are not to be trusted. The weapon that is used against us is that of filling the Boers with distrust of us, and everything is misinterpreted. It is in that way that the Executive maintains its power, and that is its safeguard. We have a Volksraad and only one, for the second does not count (laughter); 24 men, or in fact a majority of that number—13—govern us. They govern from the Limpopo to Christians. Is it right that 24 men, or rather part of 24 men, in conjunction with the Executive Council, should have control of all our great interests and not always 24, but perhaps 10, 12 or 13? (Loud cries of 'No.') That is the condition of things we have in this country at the present time. I need not point out the temptations which exist. They must exist while human nature is human nature. They must exist while they keep up this state of things. That is the reason why we are determined in the matter. That is why the intelligence on this Rand has repeated again and again, that we want you to stand by us in the work of reform of this state of things. We ask you to help us to remove the ridiculous state of things in the Transvaal. Now the argument on the other side is that we cannot be trusted. I will not, gentlemen, I will not insult your intelligence by attempting to refute that. Another argument is that because—(at this point an unruly member of the community succeeded in creating a disturbance in the centre of the building, and thus rendering the learned advocate for the moment quite inaudible. Order being restored by the Chairman, Mr. Leonard continued)—Yet another argument advanced against us is what I may call the argument of right of prior occupation in this country. Of all the feeble devices that you could possibly make I think this is the feeblest. It has been adopted, too, by men who call themselves Voortrekkers! As has often been said, there is no absolute line of demarcation in this respect. When the first fifty Boers

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

came into this country, would they have dared to say that they had a right to the land, and no others? No, gentlemen, there is absolutely no line that can be drawn. No man can dare to say, 'This country belongs to me,' even if he has been in the country ten, twenty, or even fifty years before you. I can understand ten men annexing a continent, if they could find it, and if they could conquer it; but these ten men would have to take upon themselves the responsibility by force or by fraud, to keep everybody else out of the country. They cannot do that, gentlemen. The people who govern this country have taken our money, they have sold their lands to us, they have sold their mines to us, and they have allowed us the right to settle here, and now they want to keep us out of everything to which those transactions entitle us. The right of prior occupation entitles no man who comes into the State, no matter how willing he may be, to deprive us of our rights. Picture to yourself, gentlemen, what took place on another continent. What would Americans think of the men who went to Wyoming or Dakota, if they had said, 'Any man who comes after us shall have no rights here?' Gentlemen, when the bulk of us came here into this country, the franchise laws were not as they are now. When the bulk of us came into this country, and I think most of us have been here five years—the franchise laws were not intolerable. They then had a law which invited men, held out inducements, and practically said: 'If you come and remain a certain number of years, you shall become citizens.' The present attitude taken by the Legislature is nothing more or less than a distinct breach of faith to those who came on that understanding. (Cheers.) Franchise laws should not be retrogressive.

Now what is our position in this State? We, representing the Uitlanders of this State, we represent considerably more than half of the population of this State; and we, as Uitlanders, pay to the Government of this State—and I have the best authority for stating this—£1,250,000 yearly to the revenue of the State, whereas the old population pay not more than £50,000, or at least not more than £100,000, but whether £5000 or £10,000 more

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

than it was ten years ago makes not much difference. The total revenue of this State at present is £1,750,000, whereas ten years ago it was not more than £75,000. We practically pay nine-tenths of the revenue of this State, and we are paying £400,000 for market produce in hard cash to the farmers. I hope to make it clear to you, gentlemen—and what I say to you now will be made known to others outside—that we are placed in a position which is a wholly intolerable one. I hope I have made it clear to you that it is not wrong for us to agitate, it is our duty and our right to agitate. It is the only method by which we can reach the people outside ; it is the only method by which we can show that there are men among us who will press for our rights ; it is the only way in which we can show that we intend to have our political rights, and I say here to-night that we are determined to have them. (Hear, hear.) And I say that in agitating, perhaps in a slightly different manner, we are only following the example of our excellent friends, the Boers. They were wronged once, and they agitated—unfortunately they had to go further than agitating—but they agitated, and agitated till they got their way. We intend to agitate, and agitate till we get our way. (Right.) Now, gentlemen, before I conclude, I want to put to you in a concrete form a few reasons to show that we are justified in asking for an improved constitution, and in asking that the State shall be placed on a sound and a proper foundation, I will read to you these protests—I was almost going to say a charter ; but it is not a charter, it is a number of protests which I want you to adopt, not as a resolution, but as part of what I am saying. We might protest against a great many more things than those I shall mention, but the list as it stands forms a sufficiently strong indictment against the powers that be. We say that while we agree that the Boer should be independent of foreign domination, we protest that that does not entitle him to deny the rights of freedom to the other inhabitants of the State, many of them sons of South African soil, and none of them less truly devoted to the cause of local self-government than any burgher in the land. (Cheers.)

We protest that the policy of the governing authority in

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

closing the avenues of citizenship, even to those who are willing to renounce all other allegiance, is calculated to weaken the foundations of the State, and does not tend to keep it strong and stable.

We protest against the public violation of promises publicly made by the head of the State, that we new burghers should be led up to equality with the old burghers.

We protest against a system which even prevents wholly an appeal to the people as a whole, when the necessity for such an appeal has arisen.

We protest that the republican principle was violated and dishonoured when the towns of the Republic were deprived of their separate representation, and all the political power was centred in a single section of the community.

We protest that the supremacy of the Volksraad was deliberately undermined when the people's assembly was split up into two chambers, one of which possesses no power to give due effect to its determinations. (Cheers.)

We protest against the Grondwet, which should be the sacred covenant of the people, being placed at the mercy of a casual majority of the First Chamber, instead of being subject to no amendment until the will of the people had been lawfully ascertained.

We protest that the true and abiding welfare of Land en Volk are disregarded by the unceasing efforts of the Government to stifle every form of local liberty, getting the very last semblance of power into its own hands.

We protest against the persistent neglect of the Government and the Volksraad to endow the judges of the High Court with that independence, both of position and emolument, which the dignity of the judicial function imperatively demands. (Cheers.)

We protest against the action of the Volksraad in making it illegal to do what is legal and lawful and encouraged in every other country in the world, for the people to take action by way of the formation of committees and otherwise for the election of members of the Volksraad. (Loud cheers.)

We protest against the principal offices of the Government

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

being filled with foreigners of one nationality—(cheers)—while other Uitlanders, and even qualified Afrikaners are denied admission to the offices in which the whole machinery of the State is centred and controlled. (Cheers.)

We protest against the appropriation of large amounts of secret service money, which the purposes of a Republican Government cannot possibly require. (Cheers.)

We protest against the system of supporting newspapers which has been adopted by the State. (Loud and continued cheering.)

We protest against the rejection, with scorn and derision, of our memorials, which have always been respectfully worded, and have not contained one complaint that was not founded upon justice. (Cheers.)

We protest against the manner in which our deputations have been received by the Executive Government of this country. (Cheers.)

We protest against the finance of this Republic being allowed to drift into a disordered state for the want of a skilled and qualified financier in the Government to supervise it.

We protest against the control of the railways, and, gentlemen, you know what that control of State railways sometimes means.

We protest against the control of the railways built upon the credit of the State being centred in Amsterdam, Brussels, or any foreign capital.

We protest against the public funds being employed in trade, in money-lending, or in any other ventures which universal experience has shown is best left to private enterprise. (Hear, hear.)

We protest against the fundamental principle of free government being ignored by the continual withdrawal of large sums of money from the people, which the service of the State does not require ; oppressing the tax-payer, and rendering it impossible to work numerous mines in which large sums of money have been spent without return, and seriously endangering the permanence of the markets upon which the farmer depends for the due return of the fruits of his toil. And I go further. It is against any economic law that we should accumulate millions of money in a

State when we see such letters as were in the *Star* to-night from a man who said there were numbers of unemployed men who could not get work to do in the place. (Cheers.)

We protest over and above all that, while we are compelled to bear needless and increasing burdens, we are given no voice in the affairs of the State.

While recognising to the full the critical period through which the State has passed in recent times, we protest that the fundamental principles of Republican Government are endangered by the office of chief magistrate being occupied by one and the same individual, no matter what manner of services he may have performed, for so protracted a term as to make him rather the master than the servant of the State. (Cheers.)

We protest—here's a little protest against tolls, gentlemen—(laughter)—although it is a small matter—we protest against the imposition of tolls—against being put within a ring fence of tolls, and for no purpose to the town. Even if a man goes to the race-course, or takes his wife for a drive, he is met with tolls.

While recognising the necessities of industries, we protest against the further granting of industrial monopolies which serve to enrich the few, but are not conducive to the benefit of the many.

We specially and emphatically protest against the enforcement of payment of personal taxes to the last farthing in some districts, while in other districts the people are allowed to go scot free.

While we subscribe to the doctrine that every citizen can be called upon to bear arms when occasion requires, we protest against any inhabitant being compelled to render unpaid military service when a sufficient number of volunteers can be obtained; and above all we protest most emphatically against the indiscriminate commandeering of money and goods from aliens while the Treasury is full to overflowing.

And we protest lastly, as the children of a proud race, and of proud fathers, against being made pariahs and helots, against being made hewers of wood and drawers of water.

My only regret is that some one who has a voice to speak, and

can feel as I feel, cannot get up in the Raad and express those feelings. In concluding, I will read a passage of a speech made many years ago in the House of Commons, and I wish that some one had the genius of a Macaulay to get up in the Raad and speak as he did in the speech, a portion of which I will quote. This is a speech—a portion of a speech—delivered, I think, in 1831 by the great Lord Macaulay upon the Reform Bill. You know the tension that existed in England at the time. You remember that a state of things existed at that time almost exactly parallel to that at present existing in this country, or at least very analogous to it. (Applause.) The political power in England at that time was vested entirely in the landed aristocracy, while all the great population that had grown and thriven upon the great industries that had arisen, were debarred from political rights. You know that crisis to which the State had been brought. Macaulay not once or twice or thrice implored the Government of that day to give the franchise to this class, and to receive them into the bosom of the State. Concluding one of the noblest of speeches, he said:—

‘Is it possible that gentlemen long versed in high political affairs cannot read these signs? Is it possible that they can really believe that the representative system such as it now is will last till the year 1860? If not, for what would they have us wait? Would they have us wait merely that we may show to all the world how little we have profited by our recent experiment? Would they have us wait, that we may once again hit the exact point where we can neither refuse with authority nor concede with grace? Would they have us wait so that the numbers of the discontented party may become larger, its demands higher, its feelings more acrimonious, its organization more complete? . . . Let them wait, if their past experience shall induce them to think that any high honour or any exquisite pleasure is to be obtained by a policy like this. Let them wait, if this strange and fearful infatuation be indeed upon them, that they should not see with their eyes or hear with their ears, or understand with their hearts. But let us know our interests and

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

our duty better. Turn where we may, within, around, the voice of great events is proclaiming to us "Reform, that you may preserve." Now, while old feelings and old associations retain a power and a charm which may too soon pass away; now, in this your accepted time; now in this your day of salvation, take counsel not of prejudice, not of party spirit, not of the ignominious pride of a fatal consistency, but of history, of reason, of the ages which are past, of the signs of this most portentous time. The danger is terrible. The time is short.'

Could some man speak words like that in the Transvaal; surely they would sink into the hearts of the members. (Hear, hear.) We are not the men if dealt fairly with to undermine the independence of the State, or to harm any interest which ought to be protected—(hear, hear)—but we should be less than men if we did not stand up and record our protest, as I hope I have done to-night, against the treatment we have received. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

The Chairman: I have now to introduce to you a new speaker, a gentleman whom you have heard of, who will second the resolution so ably proposed by Mr. Leonard. He is Mr. Advocate Wessels. (Loud applause.)

Mr. Wessels, who was tendered a great reception, said he had great pleasure in seconding the proposition so ably and eloquently laid before them by Mr. Leonard. He asked them to forbear with him, as he was no politician. He had never in his life addressed so large or important a meeting. He had spoken in public, but generally to three judges, or one judge and an intelligent jury. (Laughter.) If he could not rise to eloquence, it was not that he did not feel with them. He had been told that the platform of the National Union was an Imperial platform. If that was so, or if he believed it to be so, he would not be standing on that platform that night. It had been said that the National Union was run by a small Johannesburg clique. He was not a Johannesburger; he was a Pretorian. (Hear, hear, and applause.) He could assure them that everything that had been done in the past by the National Union had met with his

approval. (Loud applause.) He could assure them that he looked upon the National Union at the present time as the voice of the Uitlander. He was not an Englishman, and therefore not an Imperialist. He had not one solitary drop of English blood in his veins. He was an Afrikaner. (Loud and continued applause.) He was, perhaps, more Afrikaner than the members of the Raad, who called themselves Afrikaners. Yes, more Afrikaner than the President of the Republic himself. For centuries and centuries his ancestors had been living in Africa. He was truly a son of the soil. He was in many respects more Boer than many Boers, even more Boer than Mr. Tosen. (Loud laughter.) He had been educated in England, he had learnt his profession in England, he was acquainted with English sentiments, he was acquainted with English traditions, and these had been cultivated in him through thorough Englishmen. If he were not, therefore, grateful to the English nation, he would truly be a base wretch. Some people might think that the English army was not so strong as the armies of other nations, that the navy of England was not so invincible as some people imagined, but notwithstanding that, if there was anything to love it was the English nation. (Loud cheers.) It was not because of England's army or its navy that the English nation was great, but because of its love for fair play.

He stated that he was an Afrikaner. The Afrikaners were not such ignorant persons as they were made out to be. Afrikaners born south of the Vaal River or born north of the Vaal River had the same sentiments as regards justice. There was no real difference between the new and the old population, but there was a clique which wanted to make a difference. Let them look the position squarely in the face. All the Voortrekkers were friends of his forefathers. There were hundreds of Wesselses in the Free State. All these men were of the same descent, all from Cape Colony or Natal—they were of the same race, the same manner, the same religion, the same language, but now the burghers said they had crossed the Vaal River first and cleared the country of Kaffirs and beasts, and that therefore other people

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

should have no vote. What an argument was that! It might have been an argument for the old original Voortrekkers, but they knew that the Voortrekker welcomed the stranger and sought the stranger. (A voice: 'And made the stranger,' 'Shut up,' and laughter.) But there were people in the Raad who refused the aliens a vote, who could not use that argument, for they had never cleared forests, or killed beasts—even a wild buck. (Laughter.) They must remember that the son of a burgher, a boy of sixteen, had a vote, and he could not say that he was a Voortrekker. But, in any case, how could an argument of that sort apply in a republic? How could they admit the hereditary principle in a republic? He might just as well say that his sisters, and his nephews, and his cousins, and his aunts, had cleared the land of beasts and Kaffirs. (Laughter.) They could dismiss that argument. Then they had the other argument, which was constantly used, that these were the people who drove the English out of the country. He respected them for having reclaimed their independence—(cheers)—and if there was one feeling in the National Union it was that it respected them for having done that. (Cheers.) He was sure the object of the National Union was not in any way to see the British flag once more floating in the country. (Cheers.) He was convinced the object of the National Union was only to see good government in the country. (Cheers.) He went further: it was an untrue argument; it was a lie—(cheers)—and it was not the reason these men had for keeping the Uitlanders out of the franchise. If it were the truth, was it to be conceived that it would be advanced now only, when the men in 1882, the year after the war, thought the ultimate limit for the franchise was five years? (Hear, hear.) If the men at that time thought five years was enough, was it to be conceived that that argument could be true now? He said, emphatically, they knew when they used the argument they were using a lie. (Cheers.)

What then was the reason why these men refused the Uitlanders the franchise? It was fear and selfishness—fear that the new-comer would have the majority and would control the rule of

the country—not fear of giving the country over to the English, but fear that it would be the Uitlander who would rule in the land. (Cheers.) They advanced the argument that they were afraid the new-comers, being largely British, would vote for giving the country back to the English. (No, no.) That might apply with the raw Englishman, but not with one born in South Africa. No! what they feared was that they would not be able to ‘work the shekels.’ (Laughter and cheers.) He did not hesitate to say that the Boer who did not want the Afrikaner to be one of them and have a voice in the affairs of the country, was simply afraid that his pocket would not be so full. He had heard it said that they were anxious to get the Afrikaner into the Volksraad. Nothing would please them more than to work with their brothers from the Free State, the Colony and Natal, who were born in Africa—but what was their further answer. ‘Class Legislation.’ They said they could not do it because it would be unfair to the Englishman and the German, and unfair to everybody else. (Laughter.) The members of the Raad said that if there was anything that they did not love it was class legislation. The one political principle as it were, the very foundation of their political creed, was that they would have no class legislation, and those same men were constantly appealing to their ancestors; they were constantly telling the public who their ancestors were and what their ancestors did, and on the 18th June, 1855, those ancestors passed a law saying that a person born in the country should have a vote! Those coming from Europe had to reside in this country one year and pay 200 rix-dollars, and then they would be entitled to the vote, but those born in the country were entitled to the vote immediately. Their dread was apparent, and that was why they went in for class legislation, for what was their legislation but class legislation? Was not their legislation on coolies class legislation? And then there was the transport riders. The worthy Mr. Wolmarans was constantly jumping up to protect the transport rider. I may not, Mr. Wessels continued, prune my roses on Sunday, while a transport rider can do as he wishes. He is allowed to ride on Sundays, and the proposed laws

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

for the transport riders are certainly class legislation. They were afraid, Mr. Wessels proceeded, to give the vote to the educated Afrikander, for fear he might get the reins in his own hands and legislate, so that everybody could come in and participate in the franchise. He could not understand their argument, so absurd was it. (Hear, hear.) They said, 'We won't have you because you are enlightened.' (Laughter.) And, at the same time, their own Grondwet said that they wished to be recognised as an enlightened country. (Laughter.) They repelled enlightenment, sought darkness, then they said, 'But we are such a great people.' (Renewed laughter.) He was perfectly certain that was not the feeling of the country—it was the feeling only of a certain section of the Government and of the Raad. (Hear, hear.)

The Raad was only composed of twenty-four men, and Mr. Leonard had eloquently pointed out to the meeting to what dangers the country was exposed which had so small a legislature. The danger to personal liberty and personal property was immense. (Applause.) It would be far from him to say that any single man of that Raad had ever been bribed. (Laughter.) He would say, however, that there were immense possibilities. (Great cheering.) The Raad was constantly telling them that because in America and France strangers coming into the country could not obtain the franchise till after a certain term of residence, therefore they should not be admitted to the franchise in this country. He would freely admit that the Raad could find precedents for its action if it desired. Personally he could find precedents for anything and everything, if he liked. (Laughter.) That was the sort of exception that a lawyer would use, but certainly not the sort of exception that a man of honest convictions would use. (Loud and prolonged laughter.) In a country like this country, where the new population was rapidly outnumbering the old, things were different to what prevailed in countries like England and America. There a comparatively small number of people go, whilst here they are coming in shoals. To reduce the argument that only the people who shot the lions

and Kaffirs were entitled to rule to an absurdity, suppose for a moment that it came to pass that only one burgher was left, one monumental burgher, would he be entitled to call himself the Kaiser of the Republic, and the only man entitled to a vote? The result would be that he would be cleared out. (Loud laughter.) All that was wanted was that the Uitlanders should stick together. It was no use mincing matters. (Applause.) If the present policy were persisted in, blood would be shed in the streets of Johannesburg. (Loud applause.) And who would be to blame? (Cries of 'The Government' and 'The Raad.') He repeated the question—Who would be to blame? It would not be the Uitlanders, it would not be the stranger who sought by every possible means to obtain a voice in the affairs of the State; not the men who tried to protect themselves and obtain freedom for themselves, but the fatal thirteen in the Raad. (Tremendous applause.) The argument of the rifle was a nasty one. It was an argument which he had heard used by the burghers in Pretoria; but God forbid that it should come to that! He was perfectly certain that by organization and by standing together as one man they would prevent a drop of blood from being shed.

There were remedies, and these remedies were not far to seek. He did not wish the Raad immediately to pass a law admitting everybody to the franchise, but still they could conciliate, or show a spirit of conciliation. There was something unlucky in the number thirteen, and it was thirteen ignorant men in this land that ruled the destinies of this State. These thirteen ignorant persons could raise the batteries of Johannesburg. Every one present must combine together to strengthen their hands in the obtaining of the franchise. Some new question might crop up—yesterday it was the commandeering question, to-morrow it might be some other question. Capitalists at present were standing aloof, but capitalists perhaps were not aware that a law might at any moment be passed making it impossible for any one, except he be a burgher, to hold property in this State. He saw some people laughing at this, but he might inform them that such a law was actually passed in 1855 by the ancestors of the present

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

Raad. He said that those men who had not the courage to speak out their convictions should be shunned, regarded as outcasts, people who were unfit to live in a free and independent republic. (Great cheering.) He said the aliens should form themselves into an Uitlanders' Defence Association, and send a monster petition from every town in the State to the next Raad, asking for representation for the towns. (Hear, hear.) If that were done he was confident that an improvement would result. That was not sentiment—it was practical politics. (Cheers.) They should ask the Raad to give back to the towns the representation which they had of old, and which this autocratic Raad took away. If that were done a new and more liberal element would come into the Raad. And why should not the towns demand representation, seeing that the towns bore the burdens of the State? The true freeman in the country was the man who worked with his hands, and upon him the salvation of the country would eventually depend. He was certain that if these men and the men representing them got into the Raad a new era would dawn for this land. What sort of a Constitution had they? They had representation—on paper. What was the use of saying that this was a free and independent Republic, and that the voice of the people was the law of the land? The voice of the people? Yes, a voice on paper. Then it was said that they had a Second Raad, but that Raad was as powerless as if they lopped off every limb, and tore out every tongue from their mouths. (Great cheering.) The Second Raad might vote that a bridge should be thrown over from Africa to America, and that was as far as it could go, because it had no money and no control over the money. The Second Raad was an impotent, imbecile body. (Cheers.) There were men in that Raad who, although men of Boer descent, were more liberal than members like the Tosens and the Lombaards of the First. (Cheers.) But the ridicule of it! To the First Raad was entrusted the independence of the State. (Cheers.) In a free country like this there must be no such thing as political apathy. (Cheers.) Political apathy at a juncture like this was a crime. (Loud cheers.) They were a mixed population in this

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

country—English, Dutch, German, and French. Each one of those countries could call to mind traditions of freedom. In each one of those countries free political discussion was the order of the day; even in Germany, an Empire, the Socialists had the strongest say. With traditions like those they could not allow their freedom of speech to be burked. (Cheers.) Therefore there must be no such thing as political apathy. Who were the people who were politically apathetic? First of all the Court minions—(much laughter)—the gentlemen who assembled at six o'clock in the morning at the President's house—(laughter)—to obtain some favour for themselves or their friends—(laughter)—the subsidised men who procured. (Loud laughter and cheers.) Those favourites were a worthless crowd, and need not be reckoned with. The next was the large capitalists. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) It was a pitiful thing there were so many large capitalists. (Laughter.) If the capital was more equally divided there would be less political apathy. Those men stood like misers over their hoards, and were afraid to utter a voice. They saw them skulking through the streets of Pretoria. In other countries—in England, for instance—capitalists were in the vanguard of freedom. Here they were merely like the curs that followed a leader. Were they wise, and did they not see the sword hanging over their heads? Did they not know that the capital they had annexed they might have annexed by somebody else? Did they not know that the fatal thirteen at Pretoria might deprive them of it? The sooner they awakened to the danger their capital was in, the better for themselves. Then there was another and very large crowd of people who said they did not meddle in politics because it was too much trouble, and they preferred their comfort lying on a sofa, reading a novel and smoking a cigar. He hoped at any rate one of those classes would be aroused from its political apathy, and exclaim:—

‘Throw down that cup of Samian wine,

A land of slaves shall ne’er be mine.’ (Cheers.)

The Chairman said he thought the meeting did not require any words of his to follow the very eloquent speeches that had

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

been made. He would, therefore, put the motion to the meeting. Before doing so he was requested by Mr. Wessels to say that an Uitlanders' Association had been formed at Pretoria, and he hoped that it might become affiliated with the National Union.

The resolution was then put, and unanimously carried amidst loud applause.

Mr. Bettington moved :—

‘This meeting desires to record its high appreciation of the services rendered by Sir Henry Loch and Sir J. A. de Wet in securing exemption for British subjects from the obligation of personal military service while they are denied the privileges of citizenship in this State.’

In doing so he said they talked a great deal about their wrongs and grievances, and about what they were going to do, but they should not forget those who had rendered valuable aid in the past, and without whose aid, perhaps, the streets of Johannesburg and Pretoria might have run with blood. He referred to Sir Henry Loch and Sir Jacobus de Wet. They heard of the training of guns, and that the town of Pretoria was in the possession of armed burghers, but through the efforts of the gentlemen mentioned no serious collision took place. To the efforts of those gentlemen was due the approaching return of the commandeered prisoners, and the provision that in future no British subject could be commandeered. He thought all present would agree that the Uitlanders of British extraction owed their sincerest thanks to the gentlemen mentioned in the resolution. (Loud applause.) At the same time their strongest protest should go up against those from whom they might have expected other things, who had ‘rounded on them’ in their hour of need. (Groans.) It had been said that we did not any of us wish to see the British flag again floating over this land—(hear, hear)—but God help us as British subjects if we had not been able in the time of trouble to look for shelter to the power that flag represented when the Government oppressed us. (Loud applause.) The British subjects owed their heartiest thanks to that suzerainty for saving them and the country from a crisis such as all of them

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

would hope they might never be called upon to pass through again. (Cheers.) He would say no more, but content himself with proposing the resolution.

Mr. Hoyle seconded. He did not know if his voice was large enough to be heard ; he did not intend to say much in seconding Mr. Bettington's resolution. When Sir Henry Loch came up here, the country was in a critical state. Some politicians in the Cape Parliament took the place for a big workshop, in which as much money as possible should be made. A false simile had been suggested. Sir Henry Loch was said to have approached a powder magazine, and an explosion had at once taken place. Rather than this, he likened the people when Sir Henry came here to a boiler surcharged with steam. Sir Henry came and turned on the safety cock, and so saved an explosion. He regarded the commandeering incidents with great satisfaction. Notwithstanding cruel wrongs, the people came through the crisis splendidly. No other country containing such mixed elements could have come through such an ordeal so successfully. He believed that the Government had now been impressed for the first time with the desirability of taking the proper steps to maintain order. He was sure that if it had only done what every government would have done and appointed a guard of honour, the regrettable carriage incident would never have taken place. (Hear, hear.) Commenting on the recent passage-at-arms between Dr. Leyds and the querulous Mr. Wolmarans in the Volksraad, he said he considered the action of the State Secretary was statesman-like in the extreme. The speaker then paid a warm tribute to the firm stand taken by the High Commissioner and the British Resident in connection with the commandeering incident, and remarked that, even from the Uitlander's point of view, the result was entirely satisfactory. (Hear, hear, and applause.) That they were able to stand there that night, and as free men say that their salvation in future depended entirely upon their own efforts, and that they were determined to fight constitutionally, was due to the intervention of these two gentlemen. (Cheers.)

The resolution was carried.

LEADING ARTICLE

In 'Land en Volk' (a Dutch Newspaper),

December 21st, 1893.

(TRANSLATION.)

NEW occurrences compel us to return with sad hearts to the consideration of our existence as a nation, our government, and in connection therewith our independence. What was the independence for which we fought a mighty nation? It was the right to free this country from foreign control, to maintain our language and our laws, and to retain the sovereign power of the people to govern the people. Are we carrying out this noble idea? The subject is of too great importance to be dealt with even in several articles, and to-day we intend only to give a review thereof. The government of the people by the people has not the meaning that a President and Executive Council are there to make laws, but specially to see that the will of the people is carried out, to administer the law made by the representatives of the people in the Raad. The powers of the Government should be strictly defined, and a constant wakefulness should unceasingly be exercised to prevent encroachment being made on the rights and powers of the Volksraad. And this necessity becomes still greater when we have a President who in former days rendered the country undoubted services, and who has made himself loved among the burghers by his former patriotism.

The past has secured Mr. Kruger great power and love, but it grieves us to have to say that, instead of maintaining the holy idea of the people, he, while *constantly having the words on his lips*, unconsciously perhaps, has used his power to encroach upon the sovereign power and liberty of the people, and to undermine the

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

foundations upon which that power and liberty rest. The thousands of burghers who voted against him were brought to do so by the conviction of this truth, and it remains to be seen what bitter fruits our country must pluck for his election as President. However, we can only contend manfully against the tendency more and more to subvert our Constitution by a system under which the *Government in practice brings about the enforcement of its will through influencing the Volksraad*, instead of the Volksraad being the highest power to make laws which must be carried into effect by the Government. How can we attain this? By only electing men to the Volksraad who possess the intelligence to recognise the dangers which we have indicated, to contend against them, and to overcome them.

President Kruger has been re-elected for five years. Can we, and may we, leave our institutions in his hands, and those who surround him during this period safely and in confidence? To this there is only one answer. Let him do his work as President according to his duty and conscience, and not let himself be got hold of by alien fortune-hunters and speculators to grasp and to arrogate to himself powers which only belong to the people who are to be represented by the Volksraad. Let him not exercise the slightest influence by flattery, intrigue, intimidation, or bluff on these people whose holiest duty it is to maintain the rights of the people, at least to hand them down unimpaired, if possible strengthened, to their children. In other words, let every member of the Volksraad, in renewing his solemn oath as a Volksraad member, understand that he is every day, and every hour, there on guard to see that the Government faithfully discharges its duties, but does not exceed its powers in any way. Let the President only appear in the Raad when he is summoned there, and let members freely exercise their judgment and express their views independently and uninfluenced, instead of simply following the Government like parrots, and adopting its arguments, thereby being compelled to do the will of the Government. Simple duty demands this. Can any one doubt for a moment that this warning is more than highly necessary? Have the rights of the people

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

been regarded in great matters such as the Constitution, in financial matters, new taxes, railways, concessions, the liberty of the press, and other instances too many to name? And how has the legislature in these matters been taken up by the Government and brought into effect? Without doubt, by interested persons who have exercised pressure on the Raad. How often is not that holy word INDEPENDENCE used in the Raad in respect of laws which are wholly in conflict with our independence? With all deference, we believe that even members of the Raad have not comprehended the effect or consequences of laws which have been laid before them; in other instances they have been misled by arguments used; in, again, other instances they have apparently thought that the Government consisted of men who had fought with them, and who therefore could do no wrong, but, however it may be, the bitter truth must be said that serious injury has been inflicted upon the people, injury that, however restricted, will still justify the testimony that Paul Kruger is spending the last years of his life to undo the good work which he has done for the people in earlier years.

We may direct the attention of our readers to one or two instances during the last sitting of the Volksraad. By the Grondwet it is provided that the Volksraad must fix the amount of each tax. The Volksraad has given, at the request of Mr. Kruger, the power to him to determine whether the tax on dynamite should be 9*d.* per pound or less, and whether he should charge one trader 57*s.* per case as a tax, while he caused another to pay 40*s.* per case. Where is the Grondwet? The Grondwet should remain unaltered unless the people desire express change, and proposed laws must be published before the sitting of the Volksraad. Then Mr. Kruger brings an alteration into the Grondwet without consulting the people and without publishing the draft law. Universal safety demands that the press shall be free. Mr. Kruger brings in a law directed against the writing of the truth. It is no longer necessary to give account to the people. The Government induces the Volksraad to pass bad laws, and thus the Volksraad becomes a vehicle to enable Mr. Kruger to secure and to carry out HIS OWN

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

WILL AND NOT THAT OF THE PEOPLE. Legislation originates from the Government instead of from the people. How many instances are there not known to our readers in which not the slightest attention has been paid to their memorials, while laws which were not only never asked for, but which were wholly against the interests of the people, were precipitately accepted without petitions or publication.

Burghers, the whole attitude of our Government as revealed by acts has been TO TAKE THE POWER OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE AND TO PLACE THAT POWER IN THE HANDS OF THE GOVERNMENT. What, then, becomes of our independence? What does it profit us to have a Republic which is only a Republic in name and appearance? What does it matter when men have an autocratic ruler whether he is called a Tsar or a President? We have always been a people of feeling. Let us regard these things as they are. There are dangers threatening our constitution, subtle dangers, worse because they have grown up gradually in such a form that our friends do not recognise them as dangers. Now, it is the duty of every one who loves this country to learn to recognise and to contend with them as deadly enemies. We have taken up the work; let us not rest until we have strangled, suppressed, and destroyed it. If we ever lose our INDEPENDENCE it will be because we have lost the spirit, the comprehension, and the consciousness to be a free people. Let us show that we still possess these qualities in order to avoid the words so often used in an improper sense, that by our conduct the curse of Heaven and the curse of our children and children's children shall not cleave to us.

OUR CONSTITUTION

EXPLAINED BY

ADVOCATE AURET.

AN ADDRESS GIVEN IN JOHANNESBURG IN 1892.

MR. J. G. AURET (who upon coming forward was greeted with great applause), stated that the subject of his address, 'The Growth of the Constitution in this Republic,' was a somewhat dry subject, although not without some interesting points. He had gone into the matter with some care, and compiled a paper which he would now read to the meeting. The address ran as follows:—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—In tracing the origin of the Constitution of the South African Republic, I find it necessary to refer briefly to the early history of the people who framed it, or rather to some of the more prominent incidents therein.

For causes which are generally ascribed to dislike of British rule, the old Voortrekkers commenced, in or about the year 1830, to sell their farms in the Cape Colony, and to move northwards in search of a land where, from their point of view, true freedom was to be found. At first only small parties were made up in different parts of the Colony, and trekked away quietly, under the impression that they were liable to be prevented from going, until in 1836 Sir Andries Stockenstrom, the then Lieutenant-Governor, declared that he was not aware of any law which could prohibit His Majesty's subjects from leaving the country for the object intended. In that year the movement was taken up on a large scale. Hendrik Potgieter trekked away with 200 families into Moroko's country. Later in the year Gert Maritz followed with some 300 families out of the district of

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Graaf-Reinet and Uitenhage, and wended his way along the Vaal River through the pastures of Moselkatse, the chief of the Matabeles. From time to time reinforcements arrived from the Colony, and, after successive struggles with the Matabeles and other native races, the emigrant Boers settled down in peace between the Modder and Vet Rivers. From here, in 1837, Pieter Retief with a large following decided upon trekking north-eastward and reached Natal, where already a small English colony had been established. Towards the end of this year Retief's party was further reinforced by trekkers, and his numbers increased to about one thousand families, scattered over the base of the Drakensberg. In the following year a treaty was made with Dingaan, which was followed by the barbarous massacre of Retief with seventy of his followers, and the defeat of the Zulus on Dingaan's Day. In 1839 a trek was organized by Hendrik Potgieter further northwards from the Vet River, and the town of Potchefstroom (called so after Potgieter) was established on the banks of the Mooi River. In 1841 Natal was proclaimed a British colony, and most of the Boers who had located themselves along the Drakensberg wended their way back again, some in the direction of Vet River, where the town of Winberg had been established, but the majority settled in the land north of the Vaal River. After the battle of Boomplaats, in which Pretorius, with a large following of Boers from the north of the Vaal River, had taken a prominent part, overtures were made to the British Government to recognise the independence of the Transvaal State, with the result that on the 15th January, 1852, a Convention was entered into (known as the Zandriver Convention) between Major Hogg (representing Her Majesty's Government) and Pretorius, with sixteen others deputed by the emigrant Boers living north of the Vaal River, in which was granted to the Boers the right to manage their own affairs and to govern their people according to their own laws, under certain conditions named in the Convention.

I can find no evidence that up to this time the Boers had thought out the question of any settled form of government, or

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

that there was any combined action amongst themselves, excepting in relation to matters of defence. No written compact existed setting forth the terms upon which their political affairs should be regulated. If their ideal was a Republican Government, their notion of it was vague and obscure. This was probably the result of the unsettled tenure of the land they occupied, their nomadic and scattered condition of existence, their constant strifes and struggles with the natives, which caused them to delay in formulating a solemn compact to treat of matters of franchise, elections, and all the other incidents of a settled and peaceful government. In Natal they called themselves 'De Zuid Afrikaansche Maatschappy,' and held a Council called a Volksraad, which was presided over by a President. Similar Councils were held at Potchefstroom and Ohrigstad, for there are still extant the records of several Volksraad Besluits which on the face appear to have been passed at these places.

At a meeting of Boers held at Derdepoort in May, 1849, attended by delegates from all parts of the Transvaal and from Natal, a resolution was passed to form a 'Union of the People on this side of the Vaal,' and the meeting also approved of the thirty-three Articles, which had been framed some five years previously by the Boers who had settled in the neighbourhood of Potchefstroom. This document, consisting as it does of thirty-three very short sections, is most primitive in style and composition, and must have been formulated under the assumption that an unwritten constitution was in existence, for with the exception of providing for an annual election of Volksraad Members, and making a vague declaration as to what the common law of the people shall be, it has not even the semblance of a written constitution of any form of Government. At length, in 1858 (*i.e.*, six years after the Transvaal Republic had been recognised by England as an independent State), a committee of fourteen was appointed by the people to draft a Grondwet or Constitution for the Republic. This was done, and the draft Constitution was submitted to the Volksraad, by whom it was approved of. Its subsequent publication obtained for it the tacit assent and acceptance by the people.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

This Grondwet has from time to time been altered and modified, not in manner provided by itself, *i.e.*, by giving three months' notice to the people, but by simple Volksraad Besluit or resolution. During the session of 1890 the Grondwet was published in a consolidated form, with all the previous additions and alterations, and as so published it now forms—together with Law 12 of 1887, which gives the Goldfields representation in the Raad; Law 4 of 1890, by which the Second Chamber was created; and Law 5 of 1890, which amended the Franchise Law of 1882—the Constitution of the South African Republic—and Law 6 of 1890, by which the qualification for eligibility as State President was altered. I shall briefly state what the chief provisions of the Grondwet are:—It contains 159 sections, and is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter declares—That the form of Government shall be republican; that its territory is open to all foreigners; that there shall be no equality between black and white; and that slavery shall not be allowed; that the Volksraad shall be entrusted with the making of laws for the people, and shall be the highest authority in the land; that the proposal and execution of all laws be entrusted to a State President, and that the judicial power shall be vested in a High Court; that there shall be liberty of the press. Chapter II. treats of the protection and defence of Church and State, and provides—That only members of a Protestant Church shall be representatives of the people in the Volksraad; that in case of a warlike invasion, each inhabitant shall be liable to be called out to assist in the defence; that all treaties shall be ratified by the Volksraad. Chapter III. relates to the Volksraad, and provides—That the Volksraad shall be the supreme power in the State, and shall consist of at least twelve members.*

The qualification of a member of the Volksraad is as follows:—He shall be thirty years of age, shall have been born in the Republic, or have been an enfranchised burgher for fifteen years, and shall be a member of the Protestant Church. Every person

* This is according to the law as altered in 1887. For statement of progressive changes, see Annexure to my statement.

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

born in the State and of the age of twenty-one years, or who has been naturalised, shall have the right to vote for a member of the Volksraad. (This has been altered by the Law 4 of 1890, by restricting the right of voting in regard to persons who are not born in the State to those who, for ten years, have possessed the right of being elected to a seat in the Second Chamber.) Each district shall be represented by two members in the Volksraad, with the exception of Pretoria, Potchefstroom, Lydenburg, Rustenburg, and Vryheid, which shall have three members; the Raad elects its own Chairman for the session; all meetings shall be with open doors, unless the Raad decides upon having a secret sitting; all appointments shall be annually laid before the Raad for approval. Chapter IV. treats of the President and the members of the Executive Council, and provides—That the Executive power be entrusted to the President, who is responsible to the Volksraad. He is elected by the burghers for five years, must be thirty years of age, need not be a burgher of the State, but must be a member of a Protestant Church.* All other officials are subordinate to the President, with the exception of Judicial officers, who are independent of him. During his term of office he may not undertake any other service or engage in trade, and may not leave the country without consent of the Volksraad. In case of incapacity, or the death of the President, the Vice-President shall act until a new President can be elected. The President can be deposed, if he be guilty of misconduct or other serious crime, after trial by a Court, consisting of the members of the High Court, the Chairman and one member of the Volksraad. He is entrusted with the duty of proposing laws which he may think necessary, or which may be suggested to him by the people. All proposed laws shall be published for three months in the *Staatscourant* before being submitted to the Volksraad. The President has, with the consent of the Executive Council, the right of declaring war or peace.

* The qualification of the State President was amended by Law 5 of 1890, which provided that a candidate for the office should be a burgher eligible for election as a member of the First Volksraad.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The President appoints all officials. At the commencement of the session he shall submit to the Volksraad an estimate of revenue and expenditure. Once a year he shall make a circuit and visit all the towns in the Republic. He has the right, subject to the approval of the Volksraad, of dismissing any official. The President, together with the Executive Council, has the right of commuting sentences and of reprieving criminals. The Executive Council shall consist of the President, the Commandant-General (elected by the people for ten years), two enfranchised burghers (elected by the Volksraad for two years), a Secretary (elected by the Volksraad for four years), and the Superintendent of Natives. The President is chairman and has a casting vote. The President and Executive Council shall have a seat in the Volksraad but no vote. The Heads of Departments are:—The State Attorney, Treasurer-General, Auditor-General, Superintendent of Education, Orphan Master, Registrar of Deeds, Surveyor-General, Minister of Mines, and Minister of Public Works, and these have a vote in the Executive on matters which they are called upon by the Executive to discuss with them.

Chapter V. treats of the Military Power, the election by the people of Field-Cornets, Commandants, and the Commandant-General.

Chapter VI. provides for the administration of Justice and establishes a High Court, a Circuit Court, and Court of Landdrosts.

Chapter VII. relates to the appointment of officials for administrative purposes; and

Chapter VIII. relates to matters of revenue.

In 1890 the Constitution was amended by the creation of two Volksraads in the place of the one then in existence. A law (No. 4 of that year) was passed for the purpose, and provides:—That the legislative power shall be entrusted to a representation of the people, consisting of a First and Second Volksraad.

That the First Volksraad shall be the supreme authority in the State, and shall be that body which has hitherto been called the Volksraad, and the members thereof shall be elected by burghers enfranchised before the passing of this law, or who,

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

after the passing of this law, have possessed the right of franchise for the term of fourteen years.

The qualification of a member of the First Volksraad is that he shall be thirty years of age, a member of a Protestant Church, shall have landed property in the State, shall have obtained the burgher right before the passing of this law, or, after the passing of this law, shall have been an enfranchised burgher for fourteen years.

The State President and the Members of the Executive Council shall have a seat in each House, but shall have no vote.

The qualification of a member of the Second Chamber is that he shall be thirty years of age, a member of a Protestant Church, shall have landed property in the State, and shall have been an enfranchised burgher for two years. It is further provided by this law that:—

The Second Volksraad shall have the power to regulate the following matters either by way of law or by way of besluit, namely:—Matters relating to mining; the making of waggon and post roads; posts and telegraphs; the protection of inventions, patents, trade marks, and copyrights; the conditions, rights, and duties of companies; insolvency; civil and criminal proceedings; and such other matters as the First Volksraad shall refer to the Second.

All laws and resolutions passed by the Second Volksraad shall, within thirty-eight hours, be communicated to the First Volksraad as well as to the President.

The State President has the right, when he has received notice from the Second Volksraad of the adoption of a law or besluit, within fourteen days to submit it to the First Volksraad for consideration.

The next provision of the law I shall quote *in extenso*, with the view of subsequently discussing the absolute uselessness of the Second Chamber as a piece of legislative machinery:—‘If the State President, within the above-named fourteen days, shall not have laid the communicated law, or besluit, before the First Volksraad for consideration, and the First Volksraad has con-

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

sidered it unnecessary to take the law, or besluit, of its own accord into consideration, the State President shall be obliged to publish such law, or besluit, in the first following *Staatscourant*, unless he, with the advice and consent of the Executive Council, shall deem it undesirable in the interest of the State to do so. No law, or besluit, adopted by the Second Chamber shall have any force unless it has been published by the President in the *Staatscourant*.'

The only further alteration of the Constitution to which I need at present refer is that made by Law No. 5 of 1890. Before the framing of this law, Letters of Naturalisation could be obtained after five years' residence, and upon payment of the sum of £25. By the law of 1890 a residence of only two years is required and the payment of a sum of £5. But, whereas Letters of Naturalisation under the old law made the recipient thereof a full-fledged burgher, letters under the new law allow him to become a burgher only after a lapse of fourteen years after receipt of such letters.

By the above outline I have attempted to give you concisely and clearly a true exposition of the Constitution of this Republic as it exists at present. The old Voortrekkers, men whose literature was the Bible, and who were more at home with the whip and rifle than with the pen, drafted their Grondwet on lines of what they considered contained the doctrines of true Republicanism, and, for their time, and for the circumstances then existing, their Grondwet was, no doubt, a sound basis upon which to carry on the Government of the day. It would be idle to compare the work of the Committee appointed in 1858 to draft the Grondwet of the Boers with the Convention which met at Philadelphia in 1787 to frame the Constitution for the United States of North America. Of this Convention Mr. Bryce, in his work on the American Commonwealth, writes:—

'This famous Assembly, which consisted of fifty-five delegates, sat nearly five months, and expended upon its work an amount of labour and thought commensurate with the magnitude of the task and the splendour of the result.

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

The debates were secret, and fortunately so, for criticism from without might have imperilled a work which seemed repeatedly on the point of breaking down, so great were the difficulties encountered from the different divergent sentiments and interests of different parts of the country, as well as of the larger and smaller States.

‘It is hard to-day even for Americans to realise how enormous those difficulties were. Well might Hamilton say—

“The establishment of a Constitution in time of profound peace by the voluntary consent of the whole people is a prodigy to the completion of which I look forward with trembling anxiety.”’

Our purpose, however, is not to deal with the excellence or defects of the Constitution from the point of view of the Voortrekkers of 1858, but to consider the question whether it is suitable to the present wants of the inhabitants of the Republic.

For the purpose of discussing the merits of the Constitution and its adaptability to the present changed and enlightened times I purpose to divide it into

THREE BRANCHES,

the Executive, the Legislative, and the Judicial. I shall at certain points raise comparisons of our Constitution with that of the United States, which will be admitted to be the most perfect model of a Constitution for a Republican Government.

At the head of the Executive is the State President, who, as we see from the ‘Grondwet,’ is elected by the people; he is not responsible to the people, but to the Volksraad. At first impression it may appear that it does not matter whether the President’s responsibility is to the people direct or to them through their representatives in the Volksraad, but I shall presently attempt to show that the indirect responsibility of the President is one of the greatest evils of the Constitution. The first President of the Republic under the Grondwet was Marthinus Wessels Pretorius. He was elected in 1858, and continued in office until 1860, when he was elected to the Presidentship of the

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Orange Free State. In 1864 he resigned the Presidentship of the Free State, and was re-elected President of the Transvaal. He remained President until 1872, when the Rev. Thomas Burgers, a minister of the Free Protestant Church at Graaf-Reinet, was elected, the law with regard to the qualification of the President having in 1871 been altered with the object of admitting Mr. Burgers. By this law it was provided that it was not a necessary qualification that the President should be a burgher of the State. Mr. Burgers remained President until the annexation by England in 1877. After the retrocession in 1882, the country, having for a short time been governed by a triumvirate consisting of Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert, his Honour Paul Kruger was elected President. In 1887 he was re-elected. His term of office expires this year, and his Honour offers himself for a third time to the people for re-election. There is nothing in the Constitution to prevent this; in fact, there is a special provision that he shall be re-eligible. It is, however, a serious question whether the Constitution is not capable of amendment in this respect, so as to limit the term for which any individual shall hold the office of President. In America the same rule prevailed, now, however, abrogated by custom, and upon this point Mr. Bryce writes:—

‘The constitution prescribes no limit for the re-eligibility of the President. He may go on being chosen from one four-year period after another for the term of his natural life. But tradition has supplied the place of law. Elected in 1789, Washington submitted to be re-elected in 1792. But when he had served this second term he absolutely refused to serve a third, urging the risk to republican institutions of suffering the same man to continue constantly in office. Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson obeyed the precedent, and did not seek, nor did their friends for them, re-election after two terms. After them no President was re-elected except Lincoln, down to General Grant. Grant was President from 1869 to 1873, and again from 1873 to 1877; then came Mr. Hayes; and in 1880 an attempt was made

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

to break the unwritten rule in Grant's favour. Each party nominates its candidate in a gigantic assembly called the National Convention. In the Republican Party Convention of 1880, a powerful group of delegates put forward Grant for nomination as the party candidate, alleging his special services as a ground for giving him the honour of a third term. Had there not been among the Republicans themselves a section personally hostile to Grant, or rather to those who surrounded him, the attempt might have succeeded, though it would probably have involved defeat at the polls. But this hostile section found the prepossession of the people against a third term so strong that, by appealing to the established tradition, they defeated the Grant men in the convention, and obtained the nomination of Mr. Garfield, who was victorious at the ensuing election. This precedent has been taken as practically decisive for the future, because General Grant, though his administration had been marked by grave faults, was an exceptionally popular figure. A principle affirmed against him is not likely to be departed from in favour of any aspirant for many elections to come.'

In earlier times, when there were few men in the country to whom the people could look up as leaders, and when, as actually occurred, it might have been found necessary to go outside of the Republic for a suitable President, it might have been desirable to make no restriction in respect of re-eligibility; but at the present time, when there are numbers of men in this country as competent, and more so than their predecessors who have gone before, to assume the highest office in the State, it becomes matter for earnest consideration whether 'the risk to republican institutions of suffering the same man to continue constantly in office' does not demand an alteration in the constitution.

Again, according to the Grondwet, the President has a seat in the Raad, but has no vote. 'The American President is not a member of the Legislature at all. He is an independent and

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

separate power on whom the people for the sake of checking the Legislature, and of protecting themselves against it, have specially conferred the function of arresting by his disapproval its acts.' The seat which the Transvaal President has in the Volksraad, and his interference with every little detail in the work of the session, is without doubt one of the worst features of the constitution, and cannot be otherwise than attended by the most baneful consequences. As a leader of the people, it is but natural that the less intelligent members of the Raad should look upon the President as a man of superior wisdom, and subordinate their views to his, especially when his opinions upon every question discussed are constantly pressed with the utmost persistency, to the extent that, in every session of the Raad, we hear of such undignified scenes as the President retiring from the House in anger and threatening to resign because the Raad refused to do his will. Nor does it rest here. If the President cannot get his way in the House, or fears that any scheme of his may not be accepted by the Raad, caucuses are held at his private dwelling, and there, with copious libations of early coffee, the members are primed to do the President's will when the Raad meets again. What is the result of all this? We are under the fond delusion that we are governed according to true republican principles, while we are in reality being ruled by an autocrat. I think, therefore, that you will agree with me that in this respect also the constitution deserves amendment, namely, the President should be deprived of his seat in the Volksraad. I may remark that in the neighbouring Republic the constitution also provides a seat for the President in the Volksraad, yet President Reitz, and President Brand before him, have, I believe, always observed the good taste to stay at home until they had been sent for.

According to the Grondwet, all legislation must be initiated by the State-President.

'The American President cannot introduce Bills either directly or through his Ministers, for they do not sit in Congress. All that the Constitution permits him to do in this direction is to inform Congress of the state of the

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

nation, and to recommend the measures which his experience in administration shows to be necessary. The latter function is discharged by the messages which the President addresses to Congress. The most important is that sent by the hands of his Private Secretary at the beginning of each Session. George Washington used to deliver his addresses orally. Jefferson, when his turn came in 1801, began the practice of sending communications in writing; and this has been followed ever since. The message usually discusses the leading questions of the moment, indicates mischiefs needing a remedy, and suggests the requisite legislation. But as no Bills are submitted by the President, and as, even were he to submit them, no one of his Ministers sits in either House to explain and defend them, the message is a shot in the air, without practical result. It is rather a manifesto, a declaration of opinion and policy, than a step towards legislation. Congress is not moved, Members go their own ways, and bring in their own Bills. President Cleveland, for instance, has recently (1887) in two successive messages called attention to the necessity for dealing with the silver question, but Congress has not even attempted to handle the matter.'

I will not go to the length of saying that in this country no legislation should be initiated by the Executive; it would, I think, be an unwise alteration in the Constitution to deprive the Executive of the right of introducing Bills; yet no one will doubt for a moment but that it ought to be the inherent privilege of every Member of the Raad to introduce a law for the good of his fellow-subjects.* In the Cape Colony, for instance, many wise laws have been initiated by Members of Parliament. The Constitution may, therefore, safely be amended by not restricting the right to propose laws to the President, and by allowing each Member of the Volksraad to introduce any private Bills which he

* It reduces the Raad to the subordinate position of a consulting body, and prevents any legislation aimed at restricting the powers of the Executive.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

pleases. The Grondwet provides that the State President shall be responsible to the Volksraad. I have already mentioned that, to my mind, this is one of the greatest defects in the Constitution of the Transvaal, this responsibility of the President, not directly to the people, but to the Volksraad as the representative of the people. The evil of it lies in this: the President is virtually the controlling spirit of the Volksraad; he is responsible to a body in which he himself has a seat, and where he exercises an almost supreme influence. He is not, like the American President, a check upon the Legislature, for he is part and parcel of the Legislature itself. The Heads of the Departments are his nominees, with approval of the Volksraad. If anything goes wrong in any department, the President, as the Chief of the Executive, ought to take the responsibility of it. But to whom has he to account? To the Volksraad with whose approval the nomination was made, and before whom the head of such department has to be impeached in cases of any misconduct or irregularity.

To give you an illustration, and taking, say, the State Attorney's Department as an example: Some short time ago a man called Linskey, an official employed in Johannesburg, robbed the Government of some thousands of pounds, which he carefully deposited in the Standard Bank. The embezzlement was discovered. Now, if this had happened in any country where the administration of justice was properly conducted, the culprit would have been arrested, and within, say, at the most six weeks, he would have been brought to trial, convicted, and sentenced, and the money would have been re-transferred to the coffers of the State. What actually happened, however, is this: Linskey was, through the negligence of the State Attorney's Department, kept in gaol beyond the time prescribed by law for bringing a criminal to trial, the result of which was that the High Court discharged him. Meanwhile the State Attorney had allowed Linskey to appropriate the sum of £600 out of the money which he had stolen, for the purpose of defending himself. Linskey is now at large threatening the Government with an action for

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

damages for having kept him in gaol so long. Now, no greater mal-administration of justice could occur. Yet, if the President, who, I say, ought to be responsible to the people for the good conduct of the State Attorney's Department, were to be taken to task for this at the hustings, his answer would be: 'I am not responsible to you. I am responsible to the Volksraad, before whom the State Attorney has been impeached, and by whom he has been acquitted. I have accounted to the Volksraad, and they are satisfied.' This is surely not a fit state of things? *

Another great defect in the Constitution of the Transvaal lies in the fact that the Executive Council, the advisers of the President, are not his nominees, but those of the people and the Volksraad, viz., the Commandant-General is elected by the people, the remaining members by the Volksraad. In America, the ministers of the President are his own nominees, and he is responsible for their acts. The President there has the amplest range of choice for his ministers. He usually forms an entirely new Cabinet when he enters office, even if he belongs to the same party as his predecessor. He may take—he sometimes does take—men who not only never have sat in Congress, but have not figured in politics at all, who may never have sat in a State Legislature nor held the humblest office. Generally, of course, the persons chosen have already made for themselves a position of at least local importance. Often they are those to whom the President owes his election, or to whose influence with the party he looks for support in his policy. Sometimes they have been his most prominent competitors for the party nominations. The respective positions of the President and his ministers are the reverse of those which exist in the constitutional monarchies of Europe. There the sovereign is irresponsible, and the minister responsible for the acts which he does in the sovereign's name. In America the President is responsible, because the minister is nothing more than his servant, bound to obey him, and inde-

* Isn't this libel? L. has been acquitted, and the Civil case pending will bring out his guilt or innocence. Allude to Ribbinks' case, which is worse.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

pendent of Congress. The minister's acts are, therefore, legally the acts of the President. The President is personally responsible for his acts, not indeed to Congress, but to the people by whom he is chosen. No means exist of enforcing this responsibility, except by impeachment; but as his power lasts for four years only, and is much restricted, this is no serious evil. He cannot avoid responsibility by alleging the advice of his ministers, for he is not bound to follow it, and they are bound to obey him or retire. The ministers do not sit in Congress. They are not accountable to it, but to the President, their master. In this state of things one cannot properly talk of the Cabinet apart from the President. An American administration resembles not so much the cabinets of England and France as the group of ministers who surround the Tsar or the Sultan, or who executed the bidding of a Roman Emperor like Constantine or Justinian. Such ministers are severally responsible to their master, and are severally called in to counsel him, but they have not necessarily any relations with one another, nor any duty of collective action. So while the President commits each department to the minister whom the law provides, and may, if he chooses, leave it altogether to that minister, the executive acts done are his own acts, by which the country will judge him, and still more is his policy as a whole his own policy, and not the policy of his ministers taken together.

In the Transvaal the members of the Executive are, as I have said, not nominated by the President, and he is not responsible for their acts. The result of this condition of things is that Party Government under the Constitution is an impossibility. The President is associated with men who, perhaps, do not belong to the same party as he does, or who may not belong to any party at all. They may be men with whom he is not in touch as far as political matters are concerned, who have been in office before he was elected, who have counselled the outgoing President during his term of office and helped him to shape a policy, and have now again to advise the new President, who may have a policy totally opposed to that of his predecessor. I think I have sufficiently shown that, as far as the Executive branch of the Consti-

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

tution is concerned, it is capable of very large and important reforms.*

Coming, now, to the Legislative Branch of the Constitution—the Legislature of the Transvaal is composed of two Houses, the First Volksraad and the Second Volksraad. Up to the year 1890 the Legislature of the country was entrusted to only one Chamber called the Volksraad, which was established by the Grondwet in 1858. Since the discovery of the goldfields, and the influx of this large foreign population, there has been a clamouring on the part of the Uitlanders for political privileges of some sort. Memorials and petitions were constantly being sent to the Legislature and the Government, praying that representation should go with taxation. The birth of the Second Volksraad was the result of this agitation. It is composed of twenty-four members (the same number as sit in the First Volksraad). These have exactly the same qualification, with this exception: that naturalised foreigners, who have held letters of naturalisation for two years, are entitled to be elected to a seat in the Second Volksraad. They are elected in manner similar to the election of members of the other Raad, naturalised foreigners having also a vote. After the first two years of its existence one half of the members shall retire by lot, and a fresh election shall take place of twelve members in their stead. As the members are elected for four years, there will be a regular rotation of members every two years.

At the recent interview between the deputation of the Union and the President in Pretoria, he assured them that his great aim as the head of the State has been, during his term of office, to bring about a union between the two classes in the country, the burghers and the new-comers. It was with this view that the Second Volksraad was called into existence, and it was through the Second Volksraad that he meant to lead the Uitlander up to the burgher, until they should stand on the same level in politics and all enjoy equal privileges. This process has hitherto been somewhat slow, especially in regard to the Uitlanders of the Witwatersrand Goldfields. The Second Volksraad has now been

* State a specific case supposing how he is to rule.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

in existence for two years. Our representative during this time has been one of the old burghers, for the reason that, at the election for the Second Volksraad, the old burghers were in the majority amongst the electors of this district, and, naturally, elected one of their own men. In other words we have, since the establishment of the Second Volksraad, been totally unrepresented in that Chamber. This is what the President calls 'leading us up to the old burghers.' (Laughter.) It might be said that in course of time our position will be improved; at the next election there will be so many naturalised Uitlanders who will have the right to vote, and who have sufficient strength to return an Uitlander member. That will be so, but even then the vast industry and the 50,000 inhabitants of these goldfields will have only one representative as against twenty-five of the old burghers in the Second Chamber. And at what cost do we obtain this? Assuming that our total strength is 25,000 registered inhabitants, who, to enable them to enjoy the benefits conferred upon us by the Second Volksraad law, have decided upon getting the franchise for that purpose by taking out letters of naturalisation: this is done at a cost of £5 per man, so that for the boon of returning one member to the Second Volksraad we have to pay the tidy sum of £125,000, that is assuming that the Government intends to forego the fine of 30s. per head for not registering within the first fortnight of arrival, which will amount to £37,500 or more. And then, when this glorious privilege has been secured, we find our man is representing us in a Chamber which, as a piece of legislative machinery, is a perfect farce.

I have already explained what are the functions of the Second Volksraad, and what matters come under their control. They have no taxing power, but may pass Besluiten or Laws with regard to almost any subject of legislation, but these resolutions or acts of the Chamber are nothing more than suggestions to the First Chamber. The President has the right of either placing these suggestions before the First Chamber or of shelving them, according to his own sweet will.

Then, again, the constituents of this Second Volksraad are

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

entirely the same as that of the First. The members are of the same qualification as far as age or property-holding is concerned ; they are elected in the same way, with this exception, that naturalised aliens may vote for them. As these naturalised aliens are all located on the Goldfields, which return only two men to the Second Volksraad, the Second Chamber is thus practically formed of men returned by the burghers. ‘Every nation which has formed a legislature with two houses has experienced the difficulty of devising methods of choice sufficiently different to give a distinct character to each house. Italy has a Senate composed of persons nominated by the Crown. The Russian House of Lords is partly nominated, partly hereditary, and partly elective. The Spanish Senators are partly hereditary, partly official, and partly elective. In the Germanic Empire the Federal Council consists of delegates of the several kingdoms and principalities. France appoints its Senators by indirect election. In England the members of the House of Lords sit by hereditary right.’ In the Cape Colony, in which a system of Government prevails as free as that of any Republic in the world, the Legislative Council is composed of members who have a different property qualification from that of the members of the Assembly, who are elected for Circles and not for the District, and in whose election also a different mode of voting is observed. Here, however, each district sends as many members, having exactly the same qualification and elected in the same manner, to the Second as to the First Volksraad. What can possibly be the utility of such an arrangement ? The one Chamber is not a check upon the other. The Second Volksraad is absolutely shorn of its legislative functions by the proviso that the Besluiten and Laws shall not have the force of law until published in the *Staatscourant* by the President, and he may withhold the publication if he deem it contrary to the interests of the State. No necessity ever existed in the State for the creation of the Second Chamber. It was invented by the wily bucolic to serve as a sop to the Uitlander, who came with memorials and petitions clamouring for political rights, and that the Uitlander is not so gullible as to be satisfied

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

with this hollow subterfuge has been amply proved by events which have happened since the establishment of the Union.

The First Chamber is, according to the Grondwet, the supreme authority in the land. In a discussion in the Volksraad, during the session of 1887 on the powers of the Raad, the President declared that the Volksraad had such omnipotence that it would decapitate any individual in the State without as much as giving a reason for it. From a legal point of view the President was right, for the Courts of Law of this State have no control whatever over the Volksraad. The Volksraad is the highest authority in the land; it can change the Constitution at its will, it can deprive any individual of his rights by a simple resolution, and from such resolution there is no appeal. In the United States the Constitution 'is not only a fundamental law, but an unchangeable law—unchangeable, that is to say, by the national legislature, and changeable even by the people only through a slow and difficult process.' A Constitution which is so rigid as to be incapable of amendment could not be framed on a sound basis, for the exigencies of the times, which change will require amendment, however small, to suit the altered circumstances and conditions of the State. Any necessary amendments in the Constitution ought, however, to be made by the people who framed it. To delegate the authority to amend the Constitution without reference to the will of the people is most dangerous, and is contrary to the very first principles of true Republicanism. The Grondwet provides that three months' notice shall be given to the people of all laws which the President, with the advice of the Executive, shall think fit to propose, with the exception of those measures which are so urgent as to brook no delay. This is a wise provision in the Constitution, but honoured more in the breach than in the observance. Our statute law teems with Volksraad Besluiten on all subjects affecting the State, the Government, and the rights of private individuals, passed without a moment's notice to the people. This procedure is in direct conflict with the provisions of the Constitution, and is one of the grossest evils which have crept into the legislation of the country.

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

I now come to the third division of the subject, namely: The Judicial branch of the Constitution. The Grondwet provides that there shall be a High Court, a Circuit Court, and Courts of Landdrosts. The constitution of these Courts. and the procedure by which they are conducted, are determined by several statutes, the particulars of which it is not necessary for me to detail here. I shall confine myself to the question of the relation of the High Court of the Republic to the Volksraad. 'No feature of the Government of the United States' (says Bryce) 'has awakened so much curiosity in the European mind, caused so much discussion, received so much admiration, and been more frequently misunderstood, than the duties assigned to the Supreme Court, and the functions which it discharges in guarding the ark of the Constitution. The name "Constitution" designates a particular instrument adopted in 1788, which is the foundation of the National Government. This Constitution was ratified and made binding, not by Congress, but by the people. It created a Legislature of two Houses, but that legislature which we call Congress has no power to alter it in the smallest particular. That which the people have enacted, the people only can alter or repeal.'

If, therefore, any laws are passed or any acts committed by Congress repugnant to the provisions of the Constitution, an appeal to the Supreme Court will nullify these. In the Transvaal the relation between the High Court and Volksraad is reversed. The Court is subservient to the Raad. The Volksraad is the highest authority in the land. No appeal lies from its Besluiten. The Volksraad has even gone the length of ousting the High Court of its jurisdiction where the rights of private individuals have been concerned. An instance of this occurred in 1887, when an action was brought in the High Court by Theodore Doms against the Government for transfer of some twenty-three farms on the western border of the Transvaal. Doms had been the secretary and adviser of the Badlapin Chief Gasebone, and this Chief was bound by solemn contract with Doms to deliver these farms to him. The Transvaal Government had annexed Gasebone's territory. Subsequent to the annexation the Transvaal

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Government had repeatedly recognised Doms's right, but, owing to some difficulties which I need not detail here, transfer was not given. Doms surrendered his estate, and his trustees instituted an action against the Government for transfer of these farms. The Government laid the summons upon its receipt before the Volksraad. The following day the answer of the Government to the summons was filed, they refused to fight the action in the ordinary way, and pleaded a Volksraad Besluit which had been taken. This Besluit, which will be a standing blot upon the statute law of the Transvaal, is to the following effect:—

‘That the Volksraad has considered the claim of Doms, denies it, and declares, as a final decision, that he is not entitled to the farms for which the action is instituted.’

A more disgraceful abuse of the authority of the Supreme Power in the State cannot be conceived. It was considered in some quarters that the High Court exhibited weakness in not resenting the action of the Volksraad by proceeding with the case and recording its judgment. Yet it is quite clear that the Volksraad acted within the powers granted to it by the Constitution. Under this condition of things the High Court is no safeguard, the Constitution can be wrecked by a simple ‘Besluit’ of the Volksraad, private individuals can be mercilessly deprived of their all, for the Volksraad is omnipotent and no appeal lies from its acts except

AN APPEAL TO THE SWORD.

There can be no doubt but that the Constitution of the Transvaal IS TOTALLY UNSUITED TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE PRESENT ADVANCED TIMES. How and in what respects it ought to be remodelled would be premature for us, having no shadow of political rights, to discuss.

PETITION TO SIR HENRY LOCH.

JOHANNESBURG, *June*, 1894.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR HENRY BROUGHAM LOCH,
K.C.M.G., &c., HER MAJESTY'S HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

WE, the undersigned loyal subjects of Her Majesty the Queen, beg respectfully to tender you, on behalf of Her Majesty's subjects in the Transvaal, a hearty welcome upon this, the occasion of your Excellency's second visit to Pretoria.

Your Excellency's arrival at this juncture affords us the opportunity of stating with what confidence we regard your tenure of the high office of Her Majesty's chief representative in South Africa, and of stating that we respectfully look to your Excellency to uphold the interests of all British subjects in the Transvaal in a manner consistent with the greatness of the traditions of our country; and so to maintain and strengthen the attachment of our fellow-countrymen to their Queen.

Your Excellency will hardly need to be reminded how great are the interests of Her Majesty's subjects in this country; but we would wish to emphasise for your Excellency's consideration the peculiar difficulties which have lately manifested themselves as being incidental to our position here.

Denied the franchise, and having recently been subjected to the indignity of seeing a petition presented by 13,000 residents—mainly subjects of the Queen—praying for some relaxation of the unjust franchise laws, greeted with laughter and scorn by the legislature; having further been informed by the authorities

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

that not only we, but our children, born in the country, can never hope to participate in the more precious privileges of citizenship; our wrongs have lately been accentuated by the circumstance that the Courts and the Government of this State have declared our liability to be called out, at any time, without pay or compensation, for compulsory military service, for the carrying out of the laws, in the making of which we can never have any voice, and in the enforcement of which we have no interest.

We beg to assure your Excellency that this position of affairs is to us so intolerable that the situation is fraught with the possibility of serious results; and we respectfully beg your Excellency to bestow the gravest and most serious consideration upon it.

We pass by the numerous other grievances and disabilities under which we labour in this State, being well aware that your Excellency is fully conversant with them.

In the trust that our reliance upon Her Majesty's Government, whom it is your high privilege to represent in South Africa, may always be justified, and that we shall not have approached your Excellency in vain with this bare suggestion of the gravity of the situation.

We beg to subscribe ourselves, &c.

ADDRESS

Given by Mr. Advocate Wessels, of Pretoria,
before the Uitlanders' Association,

ON OCTOBER 13TH, 1894.

I HAVE been requested to address a few words to you on the political status of the Uitlander in this Republic. The question, as far as the Uitlander is concerned, is one of the greatest importance; and I would venture to say that it is not entirely unimportant to the most ardent patriot who feeds his herds on the Waterberg Hills, or who contemplates nature in the enlightened environs of Piet Retief. I do not appear before you as a politician, not even as an amateur politician, in the newspaper sense of the word 'politician.' A professional politician I am not, for neither do I revolve round the two Volksraads, nor do I take my matutinal cup of coffee on the President's stoep. I do not edit a newspaper, nor do I desire a penny of the yearly revenue. I am an ordinary every-day sort of a creature, deeply interested in South Africa, who happens to be fond of political and constitutional history, and some of the problems which that branch of study presents. One of these problems is absolutely unknown to a vast portion of the inhabitants of this world of ours, uninteresting to a great number of Europeans and Americans, though exceedingly interesting to the people who are building up the fortunes of this Republic. It is this problem which I wish to discuss with you this evening. I shall consider it under various heads: (1) What is meant by a Uitlander? (2) What is his position in the State? (3) Is it for the benefit of the State that

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

he should be excluded from all political rights? That we should clearly understand

WHAT IS MEANT BY UITLANDER

seems to me of the utmost importance, for sometimes I find the word used in one sense, at another time it has an entirely different meaning. It is used by some as designating all persons who are not burghers; by others it is used as an equivalent for *verdomde* (d——d) Englishmen. The use of it is manifestly unfair to the gentlemen of other nationalities who bask in the sunshine of Government favour. (1) In one sense the word Uitlander means any person born outside the frontier of this Republic. In this sense the sons of Transvaal parents, born elsewhere, might be Uitlanders. (2) It also means, in a more restricted sense, a person born outside the frontier of this State, of parents not subjects of this State. In this sense most of the Voortrekkers are Uitlanders. President Kruger, in this meaning of the word, is a Uitlander. (3) It may also mean a person to whom the ruling element in this State has not deemed it fit and proper to give the rights of citizenship. This is the usual meaning given to the word Uitlander in the newspapers and in the streets. In this sense the majority of the townspeople of the Transvaal are Uitlanders. This would be a rough-and-ready definition; but if we wish to consider the position occupied by the Uitlander, and his destinies, then we must have a more accurate conception of what he actually is. The Uitlander, in common with all the inhabitants of the State, possesses certain rights. He may not be killed by a fellow-inhabitant unless certain sufficient reasons exist. His skin may not be broken with impunity, although there may be an inclination to 'eave half a brick at him.' The law places a certain restraint upon persons giving this inclination an actual and visible form. He may not be physically kicked or trampled upon, however praiseworthy a moral kicking and trampling upon may be deemed by the select few who do not happen to fall under the category of Uitlander. His property cannot be stolen or taken away from him by the burgher who casually

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

strolls over the country, however necessary and even meritorious it may be considered by the ruling element to deprive him indirectly of his worldly encumbrances. The difference between the treatment he may receive by the individual burgher and by the collective body of burghers is very considerable. The individual members of the Volk are strictly forbidden to tread upon the Uitlander, however severely

THE THIRTEEN INTELLIGENCES

of the Volksraad may dance upon his person, his voice, and his property. These rights he shares with all but the coloured inhabitants of this free Republic. There are, however, a great many very important points which the Uitlander may not possess in common with the select few who by unforeseen accidents may have come here somewhat earlier than he did. An almost imperceptible fragment of infinity has separated the sheep from the goats. The Uitlander may not vote for a member of the Volksraad, although he possesses the unfettered freedom to pay such taxes as the Volksraad may impose upon him. He may not sit on a jury, for then he might corrupt the sacred fountains of justice. An intelligent Uitlander, with thousands at stake, is considered much less likely to come to a sane conclusion from a complicated series of facts than a God-gifted burgher who absolutely does not understand the language of the presiding judge. He may not be an official, not even a district surgeon; then he would unquestionably use his official position to betray the country to the English. I am not quite certain whether he may be a white policeman,* though I doubt if any restrictions exist against his being a black one. Now these qualities are distinctly negative; these are, as it were, his minus qualities. I must here digress, and say that I do not wish to rail at the ignorance of the burgher, for I know as well as he does that it is not his fault, and that he has not had the advantages that we have had. But it is a fact—an important one—which we must

* It will be remembered that Mr. Kruger recently prohibited any Uitlanders from being enrolled as policemen.—Ed.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

take notice of when we consider the relations between burgher and Uitlander, and the latter's position in the State. If a doctor wishes to treat a disease, he has to inquire into all manner of details, some of which are by no means pleasant to the patient to discover. So here, the want of knowledge on the part of the burgher permeates the whole administration, and is therefore an important factor and a most unpleasant symptom in our diseased Republic. This ignorance and want of education is a lamentable fact; but when one thinks of the systematic endeavours of a certain class in our midst to keep these unfortunate men and their descendants ignorant, in order to further their own small schemes, it is verily enough to exasperate a saint. Whilst the Dopper and his henchman, the Hollander, are squabbling with the advanced Afrikaner and the Uitlander about politics, the unfortunate youth of the country are kept in ignorance, and are daily growing

MORE INCOMPETENT TO RULE.

Education, knowledge, honesty, are minor considerations; the true question always is: 'Do you rant with the ignorant Boer, or do you take a more liberal view of things?' Woe betide you if you are found guilty of the latter iniquity. Now I have said that a Uitlander is devoid of the rights of citizenship. In order, therefore, to appreciate his position, we must have an accurate conception of what citizenship really means. The word citizen is also one of those unfortunate words used in a different sense at different street corners. I am a citizen of Pretoria, but I can certainly not be described as having the rights of Transvaal citizenship. Why not, you will ask, drop all this, and say a Uitlander is a person who is not a burgher? This is also street-corner investigation. For if you will turn up that healthy-looking, plump volume called the Local Laws, you will soon find, to your utter astonishment, that where it serves the purpose of the ruling element you Uitlanders are called burghers. Mr. Leonard pointed this out to the Court when discussing the commandeering question, but the Court seemed to think that the Volksraad had tumbled into this confusion out of pure courteous good-nature,

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

and that it was very wrong of the Uitlanders to try and take advantage of this bucolic simplicity. So you see, I must really trouble you to understand what is meant by citizenship. Etymologically, a citizen is the inhabitant of a city. He is, therefore, from an etymological point of view, very nearly akin to a burgher, who is the inhabitant of a burg or a fortified town. It is curious, however, to note the marvellous somersault the burgher has made in this country. He is never a true burgher, inasmuch as we have no fortified towns, unless Pretoria, with its formidable camp and guard of valiant heroes, selected from the Law Chambers and the Carlton Bar, can be said to be a fortified town. Sometimes, however, by a stray chance, a burgher happens to be a townsman, but by far the majority of burghers have nothing to do with a town, or even a dorp. He ponders over the destinies of his country whilst bumping along in an ox-waggon, or whilst watching his little herd from a shadeless stoep. So, in the Transvaal, the burgher or townsman is, in truth, the inhabitant of any part of the country but the town. So much for the etymological citizen or burgher. As culture, industry, and freedom had their real birth in the towns, so the word citizen or burgher gradually obtained a wider meaning, and eventually came to mean the members of the State, endowed with complete political rights. The citizens or burghers in a political sense form, therefore, that portion of the inhabitants of a country possessing full political rights. If this definition be true—and I may say that it rests upon the authority of no less a constitutional lawyer than Bluntschli—then we see that in this country we have various grades, from the God-gifted burgher to the helot Uitlander. We have first of all the noble burgher, clothed in the purple-bordered toga of political rights. Such a man may become a President; he may vote at elections for all manner of representatives, though he may be a bywoner (squatter) and only sixteen years old, and with a vocabulary of about 100 words, and ignorant of the use of book or pen. Then comes the unfortunate foreigner who has become naturalised. He is neither fish, flesh, fowl, nor good red herring. He has lost his former nationality, and acquired—

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

what?—the right to vote for the Second Chamber, and to suffer such humiliation as the first-class citizen may wish to impose upon him. He has some of the rights and privileges of a burgher of the Republic, but is absolutely devoid of the only rights and privileges worth having. He has

ABSOLUTELY NOTHING TO SAY

in the foreign policy of the State, and he may only say so much about the internal policy as may be pleasing and acceptable to the owners of oxen and cows. What a noble place for a true freedom-loving Republican to occupy! How proud an Afrikaner must be to qualify for such a high position! How proud of him must be the ghosts of those who defended Leyden against the Spaniards, or of those who died on the field of Waterloo! Next in order comes the Uitlander pure and simple—the representative of the wealth, the industry, the intelligence, and the culture of the Republic; and, last in the politico-social grade, the indigenous inhabitant. This country, therefore, which pretends to be a Republic, is nothing of the kind, for its very burghers are divided into classes, and these classes are dependent upon the knowledge and industry of aliens. I said that the Uitlander is a person to whom the ruling element in the State has not given the rights of citizenship; what, then, is the ruling element? Clearly the first class of burghers, the bucolic inhabitant, who happens to have arrived here a little earlier than the naturalised burgher or the Uitlander. The form of government is oligarchical, and the real rulers of the country are those who have full political rights, aided by foreigners, who for some temporary good have placed themselves in the absolute power of these men. I think we have now arrived at a correct conception of the political Uitlander. Let us consider, now, the Uitlander from another point of view. The old and well-established States have, with very few exceptions, been based upon nationality. Where a state is formed upon the basis of national kinship it is, as a rule, more stable than a state composed of diverse elements. United Greece could cope against the might of Persia. The Italian race, however much

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

they quarrelled among themselves, drove Hannibal from the Italian shores, and in our own days the German-speaking States joined hands against the French, and by virtue of a strong national sentiment, knit together the various little States into this now great German Empire. There are also conglomerate States, but in these there is generally some paramount race which binds together, by moral or physical force, the discordant elements. If the paramount State be powerful, good and well, but if it ceases to be the dominating element, the result is invariably disintegration. The British Empire is such a conglomerate State. So are Austria, Russia, and China. In each of these States, however, there is at present a paramount race. The Roman Empire and the Spanish Empire are examples of disintegration directly the paramount race lost its dominant power. In these old States, whether founded upon nationality or not, the inhabitants may be divided into natives and aliens. In the conglomerate State, the natives have to be considerably subdivided, and the division becomes purely a political one. In new States, such as this Republic, the division is, from a race point of view, quite unimportant. The full burgher is of the same race, has the same sentiments, the same language, the same religion, the same manners and customs as his brother or cousin in the Cape Colony, Natal, or the Free State. You may find three brothers—the one a British subject, the other a Free State subject, and the third an ardent Transvaal patriot. In this case there is no race feeling which has caused the divergence in political rights. It is a pure

MATTER OF TERRITORY AND ACCIDENT,

and their opinions, as a rule, will be shaped by territorial influences, or personal advantages. The only persons who can be described as natives are the children born in the Transvaal, all the rest are aliens or Uitlanders. In this sense President Kruger's children are true Transvaalers, though he himself is a Uitlander. It will therefore appear at a glance that a new State such as the Transvaal is more akin to a colony than to the old-established States, and the experience of successful colonisation should be

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

carefully cultivated in this country. The old inhabitants of the Transvaal, for whom I have a very great respect, saw this. Hence, in the old days, every European new-comer was welcomed, and with very little ceremony incorporated into the infant State.

FRANCHISE LAWS IN 1855.

In 1855 the difference between the raw European and the South African born was felt, and the European was given a year to become acquainted with the manners of the people, and so qualify for citizenship.

FRANCHISE LAWS IN 1882.*

Later on, in 1882, the period was extended to five years, and all new-comers were included. Now it is easy to understand why the period was increased to five years. Feeling was very high immediately after the English war, and the people of the country were afraid that too easy concessions in this respect might endanger the independence of the country. They therefore adopted the American period of five years' residence. Still these men, fresh from the struggle, bitter against all Englishmen, thought that if a person were domiciled here for five years and took the oath of allegiance there would be no question as to his supporting the independence of the country. This law was based upon true republican principles. It does not recognise any different classes of burghers. It divides the inhabitants into two sections, burghers and Uitlanders. It refuses to admit the Uitlander until he has been domiciled here five years, but when he has given that proof of his intention to form one of the community, he is welcomed as an equal, and is accorded equal rights. It was felt that the State was in process of forming, and that it should call to its standard all who wished to join that standard.

FRANCHISE LAWS IN 1886.

Then came the gold discoveries, and gradually the old burgher began to fear that the dominant power would be wrested from his

* The President's invitation to us to go to the Transvaal is dated December 21st, 1883.—ED.

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

grasp. He did not fear the race differences, for he repulsed his brother from the Cape or the Free State with the same vigour with which he repulsed Englishmen. Then came to the front some of the low instincts of humanity, fostered and fed by a crowd of foreign harpies and flatterers. To his Afrikaner brother from the Cape he said: 'I cannot let you in; you were born in an English colony; you have imbibed English ideas; you will give our country back to the English.' Mind, I have heard this said by men born and bred and educated in the Colony, who only differ from me in this, that they came here a short time before me. The line of demarcation was their admission to the franchise. To the Free Stater these men replied: 'We should so like to make you burghers, you are so good and true; but it will not look nice to make any distinctions, so be kind enough to allow us to domineer over you, or else remain on the south side of the Vaal.' The law of 1882* was an exceedingly good one, and had it been allowed to remain in the statute-book, the Uitlander of to-day would have had a

KINDLY FEELING TOWARDS THE BURGHER,

and the State would have increased in greatness and prosperity. But, alas! the far-sighted members of the Executive Government and the benighted patriots of the Volksraad thought otherwise. The policy of the ruling element gradually changed its tone. It endeavoured to create two classes of burghers—the old burghers and their descendants, and the new burghers. It became apparently liberal. It reduced the term of domicile from five years to two, and kindly allowed the new-comer, after two years, to take upon himself all the burdens of citizenship, but carefully took away from him all its most important rights. Laws were passed almost every year carefully to restrict the rights of the naturalised burgher.

CREATION OF THE SECOND VOLKSRAAD.

In a generous moment the First Volksraad gave birth to the Second Volksraad, and gave the naturalised burgher a right to

* The law under which we were invited to, and did, go into the Transvaal.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

vote for members of that august body ; but it carefully took away from that body all such powers as were useful to the development of the country, or to the interests of the new burgher. The Second Volksraad became a sort of complaint-book of the new burgher—a sort of adviser to the First Raad. It might propound magnificent schemes, but it had absolutely no means to carry them out. In fact, but for the innate love of talking which exists in mankind, it is really difficult to see how any one with a grain of self-respect can become a member of this chamber-maid of the First Volksraad. It is in this introduction of two classes of burghers in which I see a great future danger to the State. We have no longer a Democratic Republic, where every burgher has a full and free voice in the affairs of the country, but

AN OLIGARCHICAL STATE,

in which there is a land-occupying ruling class of bucolic instinct, and a class subject to them mostly composed of men intellectually superior to the ruling element and of instincts distinctly urbanic—the man of the town subject to the man of the country. This is a distinct destruction of republican or democratic principle, and when once you start destroying the very principle which has called you into existence, the gates to the road of political disintegration and ruin are thrown wide open. Why did the Voortrekkers leave the Cape Colony and Natal? Because they wished to be free to manage their own affairs, and because each man wished to have a say and to record his vote in the conduct of the political society of which he formed a part. Why did the burghers of this Republic throw off the English yoke? Because of their love of freedom, and because that freedom was checked and they were deprived of their sacred right of election, while the English Government placed nominees in the Councils of State who were not acceptable to the majority of the people. Each man's voice could not be heard, but he felt that there was placed over him a class of men with whom he was not in sympathy. His republican spirit was checked, and he had to submit to the dictates of a ruling oligarchy, or to the arms of a foreign monarchy. Yet this very act which

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

aroused in the burgher of 1881 so much resentment, the burgher of to-day has established in all its

LOATHSOME OPPRESSION.

He has started a class of legislation and class division in this country, the end of which, I fear, will be extremely far-reaching. And what is his excuse? He must first try the new-comer. Has any one ever uttered anything so absurd? Why should the burgher of to-day have to try the new-comer more than the burgher of 1882, immediately after the unfortunate war? And then does he try him for any time? It may be said that he does, but the time of trial is very much akin to eternity. Besides these classes of new burgher and old burgher, you have the Uitlander. To this Uitlander the new burgher is very nearly akin, so that if ever a disturbance should arise, the old burgher has already so carefully taught the new burgher that he has nothing to expect from this rule, that he will find the new burgher settled in the Uitlander camp. The Uitlander may be divided into the Afrikander, a class of men of strong democratic feeling; the Englishman, no great lover of tyranny and injustice; the German, tired of autocratic rule; and

THE HOLLANDERS.

The latter form a very considerable element in the Uitlander class. Their interests, as a rule, lie absolutely with their oligarchical masters—for they are their trusted servants, whose bread they eat, whose songs they sing; and so we generally find the Hollander element stands in opposition to the general body of Uitlanders. Yet even amongst them, excluding of course the great bulk of Hollander Government clerks, you will find men of true republican spirit, worthy descendants of a race that can boast of Egmont and Horn, of Hugo de Groot and Olden Barneveld.

THE ENGLISHMAN.

By far, however, the greater bulk of the Uitlander population is composed of Englishmen, Afrikanders, and Germans. These are the men who are daily making the country greater and

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

greater. These are the men who have built Johannesburg, who are exploring Zoutpansberg, or doing the bulk of the trade in Pretoria and every other town in the Republic. They have raised the State from bankruptcy, and made a sovereign, instead of being a pretty but rare disc, to be a not infrequently met-with coin. They have done this, the *Volksstem* (Kruger organ) would say, because they expected to gain thereby, and not for any generous, high-minded motive. Perfectly true; but what difference does this make? Who goes to found a colony, or raise a state, or edit a newspaper for purely humanitarian reasons? But did the English settle in India for reasons of generosity? Are the Germans fighting Witbooi in the interests of the human race? Does Holland occupy Java because of the innate love a Hollander bears the Javanese? All Colonies or new States are founded because the immigrants expect to have a more comfortable existence there, and, therefore, the Uitlander is justly entitled to say: 'I came here to make my fortune, but in attempting to make it (and in ninety-nine cases out of the hundred it is merely an attempt) I have helped you, ancient, ungenerous burgher, to make not only your fortune but to render your existence less irksome. I have transformed your Witwatersrand from a wind-blown desert to a great and glorious industrial centre. I have changed Pretoria from a sleepy hollow to a respectable town.' May the Uitlander not say to the Executive Council: 'But for me you would still have to sit in Van Erkom's tobacco shop* instead of in the Government Offices;' and to the Volksraad could he not say: 'Had I not come into this country you would still have had to sit in the old thatched room whilst the three donkeys guarded its sacred portals?' Now these Uitlanders who could say all this are not a *quantité négligéable*, not a few stragglers, but a number of able-bodied men in number equal to, if not greater than, the burghers of this Republic. They have wealth, they have intelligence, and they have a world of sympathisers outside the borders of this country. Surely under such circumstances one would think that the old burgher, if for no other reason than for

* An old tumble-down shanty where the Volksraad sat prior to 1889.

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

his own preservation, would meet these men half-way and accord to them some say in the affairs of the country which they have raised from a cattle farm to an industrial State. In matters of this kind we can do no better than to listen to the experiences of the past. Lord Bacon, in his essay on 'Kingdoms and Estates,' says: 'All States that are liberal of naturalisation towards strangers are fit for empire.'

He then points out how very conservative the Spartans were, and how ill this narrow policy served them directly they came into contact with the rest of Greece. The Spartans were a warlike, jealous, and selfish race, and as long as they kept their compass they remained fairly powerful. But as Greece developed in liberal views, these conservative Spartans became an easy prey. Their jealousy and selfishness made them hated by all, and when

THE DAY OF RETRIBUTION

came they were swept away. Then Lord Bacon goes on to say :—

'Never was any State in this point so open to receive strangers into its body as were the Romans. Therefore it befell with them accordingly, for they grew to the greatest monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalisation, which they called *jus civitatis*, and to grant it in the highest degree—that it is not only *jus commercii*, or right to trade, the *jus connubii*, or right of intermarriage, the *jus hereditatis*, or right of succession, but also the *jus suffragii*, or the right to vote :—and this not to singular persons alone, but to whole families, yea, to cities, and sometimes to nations . . . and that was the way to sure greatness.'

Nothing would be more instructive than to review here the political history of Rome in this respect. Of course I know that there are some very ignorant persons who will say, 'Why should we go back to Roman history in order to see what is best for us to do?' To these people I would answer that there is no record of what human beings have done in the past which cannot teach us and help us in shaping our conduct. It is true that the Romans did not know of Maxim guns, of railways, and of telegraphs, but

they knew how to establish an Empire, how to make laws, and how to conciliate their bitterest enemies. I spoke of their laws; you all know that the laws in vogue to-day in this Republic are the laws of the Roman people, somewhat modified to suit the exigencies of modern life. After all, human nature has changed but very little since the days of Cæsar and Cicero, and he who will dip not into the past will be but a poor modeller of the future. The Romans, at first but a very small body of men, saw clearly that their success lay not so much in their arms as in their art of governing. They saw that it was a far better policy to conciliate than to irritate. As they spread their power they admitted strangers into their State, and gave them a voice in the public affairs. Thereby they crushed all hostile feeling, and raised out of the diverse elements that gigantic Empire whose influence is felt even to-day. It is to these men that Europe owes her laws, her culture, and I might almost say, her very civilisation. Bacon compares the liberal policy of the Romans with the narrow policy of the Spaniards, and marvels that Spain could still continue to exist. Little he knew how soon the Spanish Empire was destined to crumble away. Before I leave this part of my subject, I wish to quote the words of a very learned and renowned Hollander. Professor Bynkershoek, who was considered the greatest publicist during the last century, has treated this very subject in one of his chapters on public law. I shall translate to you some passages, for they almost seem to be written for the Transvaal of to-day. In the eleventh chapter of the second book he discusses the question: 'Of Uitlanders van het bewind der Republick moeten geweest worden?'—'Should Uitlanders be kept out of the administration of the Republic?' (that is, the Dutch Republic as it existed in the commencement of the eighteenth century).

'By Uitlanders I mean not such persons as are still living out of the country under some Sovereign, but such as are Uitlanders by origin, but who have established themselves here. With reference to these I wish to discover first the reasons and then the laws as to their exclusion. When I consider the reasons, then I cannot understand why Uit-

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

landers, if they know the language, the laws, the habits and customs of the Republic, should be repulsed from taking part in the administration of the State. Most publicists wish to exclude them, but for reasons which do not appeal to me. They say that you must expect a better disposition towards the State in natives than in Uitlanders. But who will presume evil of a person who comes into our country with his whole family and with all his possessions, and whose happiness therefore depends upon the public weal? Why should these people give the public bad advice when the downfall of the Republic means their own loss? Good sense and the laws call the worthiest and the wealthiest to the administration of the Republic. I know all this, and I think that these qualities are possibly greater in the Uitlander than in the native-born, and for this reason I would esteem a worthier and wealthier Uitlander above a burgher who does not possess these qualities, and the burgher should not in any way feel hurt if he who excels in wisdom and wealth should excel him in position in the State. In order to govern the State well, one must be well acquainted with the Republic, but this knowledge is often found to be far greater among the Uitlanders than amongst the burghers, who, thinking that they have acquired this knowledge with their mother's milk, neglect to use the necessary diligence to acquaint themselves with the true state of affairs. All I would require in one called to the administration of the State is that he give tokens of *bona fides* and interest, from whatever country he may have come.'

Could not these words be used with greater force in the Transvaal to-day than they were used in Holland a century and a half ago? In Holland there was an able, patriotic, indigenous population—a people jealous of their freedom, untiring in industry, and cultured to the very highest degree—and here we have a new State, with a handful of native-born burghers, and an ignorance which is perfectly appalling. Surely, if ever a liberal

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

policy were required with regard to assimilation, it is here, where the Uitlander will soon, if he does not already, outnumber the native born, and where all industry and all the life and all the energy are already exclusively in his hands. I think at this stage it will be advisable to inquire into the policy of another Republic, a country whose development has been truly stupendous. Of course I speak of the United States. The laws of naturalisation to-day are far more liberal than those of this Republic. Yet when we wish to compare the policy of naturalisation laws of this State with the American laws, we should not consider the America of to-day, but the America of the beginning of this century.

IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

To-day the United States can boast of a population of say forty millions of native citizens, and it has been subjected for years to a constant stream of immigration. It would therefore not be astonishing if we found that America was chary of admitting strangers to citizenship. Yet what is actually the case? Just the reverse. Chancellor Kent, speaking of the naturalisation laws of the United States, says :—

‘The laws of Congress on the subject of naturalisation have been subject to great variations. In 1790, only two years’ previous residence was required ; in 1795 the period was enlarged to five years, and in 1798 to fourteen years. In 1802 it was reduced back to five years, where it still remains. The period of probation has probably been deemed as liberal as was consistent with a due regard to our peace and safety. A moderate previous residence becomes material to enable aliens to acquire the knowledge and habits proper to make good citizens, who can combine the spirit of freedom with a love of law. Strangers on their first arrival, and before they have had time to acquire property and form connections and attachments, are not to be presumed to be acquainted with our political institutions, or to feel a pride or zeal in their stability or success.’

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

We have here the very same ideas and principles as laid down by Bynkershoek in the passage quoted by me. The alien must reside in the country a certain time and he must possess a certain amount of property. The question is always

WHAT TIME AND WHAT PROPERTY?

Now, if America, peopled by emigrants from all quarters of the globe, a most heterogeneous mass of men, think that a probationary period of five years is sufficient to confer full citizenship, can we say that this State is acting reasonably in denying the right of citizenship to the Utlander and his children until the Day of Judgment? By the present laws of the United States, full citizenship is conferred after a proof of five years' residence, but a naturalised alien must be two years a citizen before he can sit in Congress. He is not, however, allowed to become President unless he be a natural-born American. This is the only shadow of illiberality to be found in the naturalisation laws of the United States. Surely, if the United States have for a whole century found it expedient to confer full citizenship after five years' residence, their experience is well worth following, or do our legislators think they are wiser men than the giants who built up the Constitution of the United States? The other Republican Governments of America, also new and forming States, though considerably more advanced than ourselves, are also very liberal to aliens. In the Argentine Republic, and in the Republic of Brazil, only two years' residence are required. Not only the Republics, but even Monarchies like England are more liberal than this State.

IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE.

In the Free State, a model little republic, aliens are admitted to full burgher rights after residence of one year, and proof that the applicant possesses fixed property to the value of £150. After three years' residence, the latter qualification is dispensed with. Now, in what way does this State differ from the Free State? In no way that I can see. The threatened influx of English existed in the Free State just as much in 1870 as it existed here

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

in 1886. If we have to dread the influx of the English then so had the Free State. If the Transvaal had complaints against the British Government, then so had the Free State. If there were reasons of fear in the Transvaal that it would be swamped by aliens who would vote its independence away, then these reasons existed in greater force in the Free State, for the Free State population is smaller, and Jagersfontein at one time held out the same hopes of a large foreign population as did Johannesburg when the

UNGENEROUS, ILLIBERAL LAWS

were passed by this State against the immigrant. In what, then, lies the difference? In the education of the gentlemen who formed the Executive Government of the Free State, and in the wider diffusion of knowledge amongst the inhabitants of that Republic; for education and knowledge always breed generosity and liberality, and do away with jealousy and narrow-mindedness. The more uneducated the person the more distrustful. Add to that, that our legislators and the ruling element of our Executive Government have been versed for years in, and almost learnt to imitate, the politics of the Kaffir, and you will soon be able to discover the true grounds of this extraordinary illiberality. I think that I have sufficiently established the fact that the experience of the most approved Republics, Monarchies, and even Empires, is in favour of admitting aliens to the status of citizens, and that the experience of the United States tends to show that a liberal incorporation of aliens strengthens the State and adds to its stability and prosperity.

IS EXCLUSION WISE?

Let us now consider the question: Is it expedient in this country to exclude the alien from full political rights? Let us first briefly consider the position of the country. 15,000 votes were recorded in the last election. These included old men and boys of sixteen. The petition to Sir Henry Loch was signed by 15,000 male British subjects. Therefore the British subjects at the Rand equal those who voted for the President. Now the President's election was a very keenly contested one, and we can

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

hardly suppose that many persons who could have recorded a vote did not. Supposing 5000 did not vote, and this number is really far in excess of those who did not vote, then we find there are about 20,000 voting burghers. Now, all British subjects at the Rand did not sign the petition. Take, therefore, all the British subjects in the State, and we must conclude that the total number of British subjects are equal to, if not in excess of, the burghers of the State. Add to these the Germans and Hollanders and men of other nationalities, and it becomes manifestly clear that the Uitlander population exceeds the enfranchised burgher population. Consider now that amidst the population live at least 250,000 Kaffirs, then it must become manifest that in time of real trouble a division amongst the White population is an extremely serious matter. Suppose, again, for sake of argument that the Uitlander, or a section of the Uitlander population, is irritated to such an extent that amicable

RECONCILIATION BECOMES IMPOSSIBLE ;

then, whatever the ultimate outcome may be, the disruption will be sufficiently disastrous to make every man endowed with some scintilla of sense tremble for the safety of the State. It will be said, why conjure up such horrors ? I say it is our duty to look facts and possibilities full in the face ; to measure them accurately and to shape our conduct in such a way as to avoid all possible calamities. If you are threatened by fire or flood do you shut your eyes in horror, and lie on the ground a helpless mass, or do you devise some plan to save yourself and those dear to you ? So with the statesman who loves his country ; so with the man who loves his fellow-man. If he sees the danger he must strive to do his utmost to avert the consequences of peril.

A PROPHECY FULFILLED.

The rent is growing day by day greater ; the threatening danger will soon show itself upon our political horizon, unless averted in time. It may be said that it is the Uitlander's duty to avert it. I say emphatically, it is his duty, and he should do all in his power to preserve the peace and independence and happi-

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

ness of this country. But let the burgher remember that human nature remains the same throughout the ages, and men cannot be goaded and taxed, despised and distrusted year after year with increasing vigour, and be expected to bear it with philosophic equanimity; and, least of all, men born with instincts of freedom, nurtured with the traditions of freedom, and once themselves members of freedom-loving communities. There is a point at which the strongest rope will break. The most patient and philosophic man, when driven too far, lets both patience and philosophy go, and vindicates to his fellow-men that he is a man endowed with all the human instincts of hate and revenge. This, I say, is only one danger; but think of the dangers to the Republic which can arise out of intrigue and treasonable plots. It might be said, 'Shall we admit traitors to the Republic?' No, certainly not. But then an unreasonable course, illiberality and ungenerous distrust, may make of a most ardent supporter an inveterate hater and traitor. No legislation in the world can alter this so long as the real cause of the evil exists. A cancer is not cured by poultices or local applications; the cancer must be removed, and even then delay will sometimes give only a temporary relief. Instead of adopting the Roman and American policy of

ASSIMILATION AND ABSORPTION,

this Government has chosen to adopt a rigid policy of isolation and division. Instead of giving the Uitlander a share in the administration, it has kept him aloof, thereby awakening a strong bond of union on the part of all Uitlanders, and arousing in them a feeling of opposition and hostility to the old burgher. This feeling is intensified day by day by the illiberal and ungenerous legislation of the old burgher, and will eventually drive the Uitlander into an attitude of stubborn, vindictive opposition.

AS IT IS AT PRESENT,

he may, of course, be kept down, and eventually crushed by force of arms, or by dread of the old burghers' superior military prowess; but familiarity often breeds contempt, and this feeling of hostile opposition may one day assume an active and aggressive form.

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

What thinking man can shut his eyes to this internal danger? There is a certain class in this Republic, headed by the *Press* newspaper (Kruger's subsidised organ), that tells us: 'You may think this, but you dare not say it, for by saying it you encourage this opposition, and you foster race-hatred.' What utter senile drivel this! as if we are not all wiser and better for knowing the truth, for seeing it in the clear, bright light of actual fact, than peering at it through the dim mist of falsehood. This is an internal danger, but this internal danger may breed an external danger. The Republic is surrounded by British territory, and the English nation is by no means proud of its achievements here in 1880 and 1881. If England sees that there is internal disagreement and that there are numbers of her subjects who have been driven by the narrow policy of the present Government to remain loyal to her, may she not one day seize the opportunity to retrieve her tarnished laurels? And will she not find in the Republic itself a host of her sons who, merely because they have been kept out of political rights, will eagerly flock to her standard?

The gentlemen who constitute the Government and the Legislature of this country are apt to forget that the country is practically surrounded by British territory, and that British capital is very largely invested in this State. What the extent of British capital is, it is very difficult to say, and I doubt if this Government will be anxious enough to inquire into the matter and to publish a true statement. Still, the British capital invested here is far greater than that which was invested in Egypt at the time of Lord Beaconsfield's *coup*, and the other interests are by no means less than those which existed at the time of the high-handed seizure of Egypt. These, then, are external troubles. It is into such internal and external troubles that these so-called patriots are so blindly leading the destinies of this Republic, whilst we, Uitlanders, who have come here to try and assist in the establishment of a true South African Republic, are deprived of all voice in the matter, but are expected to sit still, whilst we see our independence, our fortune, and the fabric our industry has

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

raised frittered away by selfish fortune-seekers, incompetent statesmen, and ignorant legislators. I have heard it said in Government quarters that the burgher has no fears of internal dissension because the Uitlanders are too disunited, and too busy making money; that they fear the deadly marksmanship of the burgher, and therefore will always remain quiet. I have also heard it said that England will never extend her grasp to this Republic, because she has once had a severe lesson, and the enterprise will be too expensive for money-loving Englishmen to undertake. This may be so, I cannot tell; but this I do know, that in other countries, and at other times, these same people that constitute the Uitlander element have not too patiently borne the ass-burden, and it is my firm belief that the history of the past, the human actions of the past, are the truest guides of the future. At any rate the danger seems to me sufficiently great to take precautionary steps to avert it, and he will be the true statesman of this Republic who will sacrifice himself in order to avert it; not he who, to gain some paltry office or some remunerative post, will shut his eyes and cry with the burgher herd, 'Great is the burgher! Down with the Uitlander!'

THE UITLANDERS' GRIEVANCES.

Has the Uitlander any real grievances! Well, gentlemen, is it necessary for me to enlarge upon this subject? Is it not a grievance that the townsman has to pay a heavy tax on almost everything he uses, whilst the countryman pays hardly anything on those articles which he himself indulges in? And has not the townsman, in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred, been made a Uitlander? Did the last discussion in the Raad not show this *ad nauseam*? Is the Uitlander's voice not squelched so that he may not even air his grievances unless he go hat in hand to some local authority and obtain his kind permission? The towns—the life and industry of the Republic, the homes of the Uitlanders—have no voice in the councils of the State. Johannesburg and Barberton have each a vote in the Volksraad, but in every other case they are swamped by the district. With what difficulty has

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

Johannesburg obtained a Sanitary Board, and this Board can hardly be said to be a free institution. Pretoria is under the direct control of the Government, and its inhabitants have not been allowed to have a say in so paltry a matter as municipal affairs. But I shall not waste your time further. I shall only refer you to Mr. Leonard's Bill of Iniquities. It will be asked, What is our destiny? What is our hope? Gentlemen, my own vision is cloudy, and the future I see for us Uitlanders is by no means a bright one. Still, I must say there are men in this Republic, burghers of the old stamp, who have seen the dangers, and who are endeavouring to do away with the race hatred and stupid prejudices which the foolish policy of the ruling element has engendered, and is so carefully nursing. If there were more men like Lucas Meyer or the De Jagers returned to the Volksraad, then I think we might safely hope for a reform. Then there are some of the newer burghers, men like Loveday and Jeppe, who have step by step fought the cause of the Uitlander. But, alas, I have heard even these men despair. Believe me, it is easier to fight wild beasts than to struggle against ignorance. ('Gegen Demmheit kamfen Gotter selbst vergebens.')

The ultra burghers take up the position, 'You shall not be equal with us. Did we not drive the savage and wild beasts from the land?' They do not for one moment understand that to build a city like Johannesburg requires more labour, patience, skill, and courage, than to shoot Kaffirs or lions. Still, there is the difficulty, and great is he who can overcome it. The one thing, however, that we Uitlanders may be certain of is, that we shall not advance one single jot if we sit still with folded hands and pray God to come to our deliverance; nay, nor if we rely upon the generous and liberal policy of the old burgher. We must all of us be

UNITED IN ONE STRONG PHALANX,

and leave no opportunity of showing him the error of his ways, or the strength of our determination. No doubt the gentlemen in the Government Buildings will jeer at you. If you are Englishmen they will call you Imperialists; if you are Afri-

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

kanders they will call you 'Engelsch gezind' (English-minded); and if you belong to any other nationality they will say you are only a German, or a Hollander, or what not, and as such quite beneath their consideration. But let them jeer at us Uitlanders, let them call us by whatever names they will—so long as we do not jeer at one another, or call one another names, we shall increase in strength, and one day, it may be in the near or more remote future, our masters will have to reckon with the helot Uitlander. Every one who starts a reform is at first overwhelmed with obloquy, and in the end carried shoulder-high, provided his reform appeal to our sense of justice and fair play. I doubt if there could be found an honest, intelligent man in this country who would not join the Uitlander in his cry for justice, and whose sense of fair play is not shocked at the treatment he is receiving.

SUMMARY.

Let me retrace my steps for a few minutes. I have endeavoured to show:—

1. That the naturalisation laws of to-day do not enable the naturalised Uitlander to stand on the same political footing as the old burgher, or the burgher who was naturalised previous to the promulgation of these laws.
2. That these naturalisation laws divide the citizens of the Republic into two classes, the old burgher class and the new burgher class.
3. That the old burgher class alone can return members to the First Volksraad, and that in the First Volksraad is vested the supreme legislative power.
4. That of these two classes of burghers, the one is a land-occupying dominant class, and the other an industrial and wealthy subservient class.
5. That this division is diametrically opposed to the democratic principle that every member of the Demos or people has the same voice in the affairs of the State as every other member.

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

6. That true republican principles are at the same time true democratic principles, and that therefore this division of citizens into dominant and subservient classes is hostile to all true republican sentiment.
7. That the experience of ages has shown that such a division is dangerous to the stability of the State.
8. That the experience of the greatest Republic of our day has shown that the liberal admission of the stranger to full citizen rights is conducive to greatness and happiness.
9. That eminent political philosophers have at all times held that it is advisable to incorporate the alien into the State.
10. That the conditions of this State, where the Uitlander male population exceeds the male burgher population, and where the Uitlander capital has virtually made the State, demand even more than in the United States a liberal and generous policy towards the Uitlander, for his exclusion exposes the State to internal as well as external troubles.
11. That the reasons for his exclusion alleged by the old burgher are not sound, and are based upon senseless fear, ignorance, and selfishness.
12. That the Uitlander by being excessively taxed is irritated, and that the life and energy of the State depend upon the alien and not upon the native-born.
13. That there does exist a liberal element among the old burghers, and that this liberal spirit should be fostered by the Uitlander.
14. But in order to foster this liberal spirit the Uitlander must agitate for his rights and not sleep, must show a combined front to the burgher, and must not be as a house divided against itself.

I shall end now by considering

ANOTHER PHASE OF THE QUESTION.

In a new State the best policy is to consolidate the various elements, and to foster a territorial interest. The distinction between the Transvaaler and the Afrikaner is, after all, not very

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

great. The raw Englishman, German, or Hollander, is naturally not conversant with the local ideas and local aspirations; but once he has gained local knowledge and become established here his interests are as much territorial as the born Transvaaler, and he will do his utmost to further the interests of his new home. The love of political freedom is as strong in the German, the Englishman, and the Hollander, as it is in the Afrikaner north or south of the Vaal. Once he forms part of a new State he is as keen in its development and progress as the most ardently patriotic burgher, and he has, as a rule, this advantage over the old burgher, he has seen more of the world, knows more of the world, and stands higher in the scale of culture and education. It is this Anglophobia, so prevalent among the ignorant inhabitants of this State, and so sedulously fostered by unscrupulous time-servers and power-seekers, which keeps us back, and which may prove the ruin of the Republic. If the English were the only immigrants this policy of isolation would be bad enough, but fortunately they are not. The burghers from the Free State, Natal, and the Cape Colony form no small part of the population. Add to them the Germans and the Hollanders, and surely there is enough diversity to assume safety. It is this diversity in the new-comers which can make this Republic so great. The intercourse of these various nationalities tends to rub off the angles and to broaden the views of each class. It is in this broadening of views that the future happiness of this Republic lies. Instead of trying to cramp and narrow the political horizon, it should be the aim and policy of every Afrikaner to broaden it. Instead of repulsing the European he should be invited, as soon as he can reasonably be presumed to know the circumstances of the country, to take part in the development of the State, and to add his wide experience to the local knowledge of the burgher. In this way the great diversity of ideas can be utilised to the benefit of the country, and to the welfare and happiness of its people. If the burgher could only get rid of his Anglophobia; if these unscrupulous and ambitious fosterers of this dread apparition could only be throttled, and all Europeans who have sojourned here say

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

five years, and who have a substantial stake in the country, be invited to form part and parcel of the State, we could make the Transvaal a glorious Republic. But if this mania continues a few may fill their pockets or satisfy their ambition, but the great bulk of true Transvaalers and true Afrikanders will one day rue the narrow-minded and short-sighted policy of their ancestors. Surely it is better to disperse hostile influences and so to weaken them, than to allow them to agglomerate and

BURST UPON US IN ALL THEIR FORCE.

This conflict may not perhaps be in the near future, or perhaps we are already within its grasp; but assuredly, if the present policy be persisted in, it will come. I conceive it to be the first duty of a statesman to gauge the present correctly, so that he may provide for the future. To provide for to-day is good, but a man who can only provide for to-day, and not for the future, is no true statesman. I take it to be the duty of a true and patriotic statesman in this Republic to assimilate the diverse elements upon true republican principles, and not to drive the Uitlander into a combined opposition and inveterate hate. It is true that the air is clear after a thunder-storm, but how much better and worthier to endeavour to avoid the storm, to clear the atmosphere, without thunder and lightning, hail and snow. The manner in which the legislature has gone to work has certainly not been upon the basis of true republican principles and the experience of ages. He who abhors principle, and neglects the lessons of history and experience, will find that Providence is unkind to him. The laws of human society and human actions are immutable. If you appreciate them you may use them to advantage, and so serve the welfare and happiness of your fellow-men. But if you neglect them, or are ignorant of them, they will assert themselves even in opposition to a Volksraad resolution. The problem is interesting, but what its solution will be depends upon the good sense of the ruling element. May its advisers see the necessity of altering their present course, and may they steer the ship of State away from the impending dangers into the calm sea of peace and con-

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

tent, of welfare and good fortune. If, on the other hand, our rulers will not see the errors of their ways, and if they will not adopt a more liberal and generous policy towards the Uitlander, but persist in insulting, distrusting, and irritating him, then may we all say—burgher and Uitlander alike—‘God behoede land en volk’ (God protect the land and the people).

EXTRACT FROM AN ADDRESS

Given by the Chief Justice of the South African Republic, at Rustenburg, in the Transvaal, in October, 1894.

AFTER speaking of the separation of the three great branches of the Government into the Legislative, the Executive, and the Judicial, he goes on to say as follows:—

Each of these powers or departments in the State which have been mentioned has its own circle, within which its functions are to be carried out. Neither the one nor the other can exceed the limits set by the Constitution without violating its precepts, and thereby endangering the

INDEPENDENCE OF THE REPUBLIC.

The country is at present exposed to that danger. In 1892 I had occasion publicly to point this out. No one who for a moment considers the condition of things in the State will deny that the country is at present in a very critical position. The unmistakable signs of an approaching change are apparent on every side. It entirely depends upon the people whether the impending change is to take place peaceably, or to be accompanied with violence. Do not let us close our eyes and ears to the truth. The people should thoroughly understand the true position of things. I repeat what I have just said, the non-observance of and departure from the Grondwet menaces the independence of the State. In the early days of our history it was possible to have acted unconstitutionally without at once experiencing any evil results. But

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

the simplicity of those days has passed away, and we can no longer pursue a happy-go-lucky course. The country has a Constitution, and must be governed by its precepts, and in a statesmanlike manner. Let me repeat here what I said in 1892: 'How frequently have we not seen that the Grondwet, which, as the Constitution, ought to stand on an extremely different footing from our ordinary law, has nevertheless been viewed and treated as such. *Many a time has the Grondwet been altered by a simple resolution of the Legislature. By this means many a radical and, I am afraid, often unwise change has been brought about in the Constitution.* This objectionable and unstatesmanlike mode of procedure can no longer be followed without impairing the progress and jeopardising the independence of the State.' I leave it to you to say whether this observation is well founded or not. A word of warning must also be spoken against the practice which exists, and which is yearly increasing, of what I may with deference venture to call loose and hasty legislation. This is not in accordance with the Constitution, and is highly prejudicial. The Grondwet and one of its supplements does, indeed, lay down that a resolution of the Volksraad has the force of law. The meaning of this is not that any matter may, by a simple resolution, without observing the necessary formalities, and without first having been brought to the knowledge of the people, be legislatively disposed of; but merely that when extraordinary circumstances suddenly present themselves the Volksraad shall be competent to make temporary provision by means of a resolution, which shall meanwhile be respected and observed as law. The Grondwet prescribes that all proposed laws must first be published for three months before they can be considered by the Legislature. The reason for this is plain, inasmuch as the people will be bound by, and will have to conform to, such proposed laws when adopted, and hence the provision that they shall have previous notice and knowledge of the matter.

By this clause in the Grondwet the people sought to protect themselves against sudden and hasty legislation. This has not been kept steadily in view, and what was originally intended by

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

the founders of the Republic as an exceptional matter has in course of time been turned into a general rule. Our statute-book affords ample proof of this, and we must at once abandon the practice, and return to and observe the precept of our Constitution. A deep kind of anxiety is caused throughout the length and breadth of the land when we hear and read of proposals and schemes to alter existing laws or introduce new ones by mere Volksraad resolution. The people, from whom, according to the Constitution, everything proceeds, must be considered and consulted before an existing law can be altered, either wholly or in part, or a new and proposed law be adopted. Whatever may have been the correct view of this matter formerly, the Legislature, consisting of two branches of Volksraaden, is (like the Executive and Judicial power) subordinate to the Grondwet, and the law of 1890, by which it has been called into being. This law of 1890 now forms a portion of the Constitution of the country. Hence the danger to which I have referred is rather increased than diminished thereby, and it is well that we bear this seriously in mind. The trek spirit has well-nigh become extinct. The Republic has its beacons and boundaries, which, with the exception of our eastern border, can no longer be extended. In the wise dispensation of Providence, everything has its proper season. It is remarkable that, although our mineral treasures have for ages existed in the country, they have only recently been discovered and developed. It is equally remarkable that soon after we had to experience a movement which has definitely fixed the

LIMPOPO AS OUR NORTHERN BOUNDARY.

These facts, together with the daily increasing population and the many complications arising therefrom, indicate that we must more than ever devote our attention upon our internal and domestic affairs. There is but one safe course to follow in dealing with public matters under the altered conditions. The country must be ruled in accordance with the recognised rules of constitutional Government. The people, and I say it with all respect for my fellow-burghers, are to a certain extent themselves to blame.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

They have, to a considerable degree, themselves to thank for the unsatisfactory position in which the country is at present placed. *We frequently see that when some member of the community gives expression to his views with regard to public affairs, which may not be acceptable to this or that particular section, he is at once stigmatised as a sower of discord.* Now we must be careful not to confound the frank and manly expression of opinion with dissension or discord. In order to enable the people to understand and judge correctly of public matters, the free and fearless expression of individual opinion is an absolute necessity. The voice of the people, not the voice of a clique or a section, **must** decide, and that voice no one dares to smother, and every one must obey. This principle is laid down and approved in our Grondwet—‘*The people desire the greatest possible social freedom.*’ ‘*The people recognise the liberty of the press.*’ Of course this does not mean license, but liberty or freedom, in accordance with just laws. It is good to guard against dissension, but it is equally necessary not to confound it with the manly utterance of opinion, even although that opinion may differ from our own. The simple fact of a difference of view between two or more sections of the community gives none the right to say that dissension exists in our midst. It is just through the fearless expression of individual opinion, especially in times of public danger, that the country is benefited. A man is no less our friend because he happens to tell us the truth. In all well-governed countries we find different parties, and honest opposition is nought but a boon and a blessing to the State. The Democrats and Republicans in the United States are both good and true citizens. The Conservatives and Liberals are both loyal Englishmen; and in the same way, the members of the majority and minority in our Volksraad are both good Transvaal burghers. It would indeed be deplorable if no sound and healthy opposition existed. The country would then cease to be a free and independent Republic, and every one who voted in a minority would be regarded as a sower of dissension, and looked upon as an enemy. The patriotic Andries Pretorius, indeed, on his death-bed, warned his fellow-burghers against

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

dissension, but not against difference of views and respect for each others' opinions. The change which is impending and the danger which is threatening are not fanciful. The change cannot be avoided, although the danger may be prevented. It is by the resolve of the people to have the country governed in a constitutional and statesmanlike manner, according to the Grondwet, that the danger will be averted. The Grondwet, *which has but too often been altered and departed from*, has recently been revised and collected together into one harmonious whole, and duly published for the information of the people. You are aware that last year, in pursuance of a resolution taken by the Legislature, a Commission was appointed by the Government to revise and piece together the Grondwet. This was done by the Commission, *whose work was duly approved of by the Executive*, and published in the *Staatscourant*. During the present session this revised Grondwet was by the First Volksraad referred to a committee of five members, chosen out of the Raad, in order to consider it in conjunction with the Executive. This took place, and on the 28th July the Volksraad Committee submitted its report, accompanied by an entirely new draft Grondwet, *which contained such important, radical, and dangerous provisions that, had they been adopted, I do not hesitate to say the independence of the country would have come to an end*. I will not now enter upon particulars, but merely make a few general observations so far as the Courts of Law and the administration of justice are concerned. According to the altered provisions, as recommended by the Volksraad Committee, the Courts of Justice, from the lowest to the highest in the land, would have been so affected in the independent exercise of their functions, *that it would simply have been an impossibility to have dispensed justice between man and man without favour or prejudice*. The altered provisions in question assign powers and functions to the Executive and the Legislature which at present belong exclusively to the Courts of Justice. The very safe and constitutional relation which, according to the Grondwet, existed between the three great powers or departments in the State, would have been so violated that the Courts of Justice

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

would have tottered to their deepest foundations. The liberty, properties, and other rights of the people would have been

PLACED IN THE GREATEST JEOPARDY;

aye, the very independence of the Republic, which is so inseparably connected with the independence of the Courts of Law, would thereby, as I have already observed, have come to an end. I am convinced that the honourable members of the Committee did not realise this danger. His Honour the President, and the other members of the Executive who in January last approved of the work of the Government Commission—the State Secretary was at that time away in Europe—could not have been aware of the danger. The observation has been justly made that the radical and objectionable proposals suggested in the report of the Committee clearly show that they must have originated with some person or persons other than the five members of the Committee. Whoever may have advised the Committee, it is plain that upon such adviser or advisers a grave responsibility rests. It grieves one to express, and it is difficult to accept, the idea that what has happened is due to ignorance, for the proposed alterations are altogether too systematic. If now what has been attempted is to be attributed to premeditation and design, then it savours of treason against the people by undermining the holiest safeguards of the liberty and independence of the Republic as laid down in the Grondwet. History affords many examples of persons guilty of such doings who had to suffer for their conduct. We need but call to mind the fate of an Alva, or a Strafford, and of so many others, who have endeavoured to violate and subvert the rights of the people and the liberties of the land. Even in the annals of our own Republic an instance of the kind is to be found—when, in the year 1865, a violation of the laws of the land by certain Volksraad members was declared to be a political offence, and punished accordingly. It is as well to remember all this, in order to appreciate the recent occurrences with respect to the revised Grondwet. The first Volksraad has acted wisely in

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

rejecting the radical and dangerous changes which it was proposed to make in the constitution.

We have seen that in the early history of our country, the popular voice, in the form of the Volksraad, or constitutional party, asserted itself. Both Potgieter and Pretorius, with their personal following, had to submit to it. We have also seen that the people have emphatically declared in the Grondwet in what manner the State is to be governed. The voice, the expressed will of the people alone can alter the Grondwet, which we are all bound to respect and maintain. The popular voice will have to decide what shape and turn the fast approaching change is to assume. It entirely depends upon the people themselves to avert the threatening danger. The immediate return to the Grondwet and the strict adherence to both the letter and the spirit of its precepts can alone save the country. The history of the Transvaal, both before and after the passing of the Grondwet, fully justifies this statement. Sir Henry Maine, an eminent jurist of our time, has, in his essay on the American Constitution, made the following remarks :—‘The powers and disabilities attached to the United States, and to the several States, by the Federal Constitution, and placed under the protection of the deliberately contrived securities we have described, have determined the whole course of American history. The history began, as all its records abundantly show, in a condition of society produced by war and revolution, which might have condemned the great Northern Republic to a condition not unlike that of her disorderly sisters in South America. But the provisions of the Constitution have acted upon her like those dams and dykes which strike the eye of the traveller along the line, controlling the course of a mighty river, which begins amidst mountain torrents, and turning it into one of the most equable waterways of the world.’ An inheritance has been left us ; a pledge has been entrusted to us. The founders of the Republic have consigned its independence to our keeping. If we are to be true to our duty and trust, we must take heed that the voice of the people is not merely heard but also respected. The internal danger is threatening the State. *The signs of an*

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

approaching change are manifest. It will be for the people to decide whether the change is to be effected in peace and quietness, or whether it is to be accompanied by violence. It will be for the people to decide whether the change is to strengthen the State and make it flourish, or whether it will turn the country into a restless and disorderly South African Republic, or deprive it of its independence. May the people arrive at a just and sensible conviction, and adopt the only safe course to save the State! I end with the prayer, 'God save the Land and the People.'

COPY OF THE PETITION

For the Franchise which was signed by
38,500 people in 1895, presented to
the Volksraad, and rejected.

1. THAT your petitioners are all persons who reside in the South African Republic.

2. That your petitioners have always obeyed the laws and paid their taxes.

3. That your petitioners as a body have been in this Republic a considerable number of years, and have done much to increase its wealth and its dignity and position among South African States.

4. That the class of unenfranchised persons to which the majority of your petitioners belong is increasing daily, and already the number of those who have no vote is in excess of those who are entitled to vote.

5. That the value of the property and possessions of the unenfranchised is quite equal to, and indeed far in excess of, that of the enfranchised burgher.

6. That the incidence of taxation is such that at least four-fifths of the total revenue of the Republic are contributed by the unenfranchised.

7. That there is now a balance in the Treasury of over £1,200,000, while the annual revenue is over £2,247,000, against about £198,000 ten years ago, before the class of unenfranchised came into the country.

8. That your petitioners desire to be allowed to become loyal citizens of the South African Republic upon terms of equality with the existing burgher population. They respectfully submit, however, that one of the first principles of Republican

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Government — a principle without which, indeed, a Republic would cease to exist—is equality, and the right of the taxpayer to representation.

8. That the laws of this Republic formerly admitted this principle; that from time to time, however, it has been attacked, and the difficulties in the way of securing the right to vote have been multiplied, notwithstanding the respectful and repeated petitions and representations of your petitioners.

10. That finally, last session, in face of a petition signed by over 13,000 men, the law was so altered that they can never get the full rights of burghers; that their children after them, although born in the Republic, can never become burghers, except under practically impossible conditions.

11. That your petitioners submit that they are entitled to be admitted to the rights of citizenship; they feel that their conduct in the past, the magnitude and nature of their interests in this country, and their contributions to the revenue, justify them in asking for this admission; and they cannot but feel that the policy of dividing the population into two classes, and excluding one from all real political power, is wrong in principle, and is fraught with possibilities of the gravest consequences.

Wherefore your petitioners respectfully pray that the Hon. the Volksraad may take these grave circumstances into earnest consideration, and may so alter the law that your petitioners may, under reasonable conditions, be admitted to the full rights of citizens of this Republic.

TRANSLATION

Of leading article from 'Land en Volk.'

DECEMBER 5TH, 1895.

WOLMARANS' WATCH.

A. D. W. WOLMARANS gives in the *Volksstem* the following explanation of his gold watch: (a) The watch was presented to him fully nine months before the Concession was dealt with; (b) by a person whose name was not mentioned as belonging to the applicants for the Concession; (c) when asked what it meant, the answer was given, it means a proof of friendship; (d) that at that time a spider was offered (by some one who was considered by me as one of the Concession agents), which spider was refused by me.

The public will itself be able to judge how far it can believe Wolmarans in any matter, and specially in such a case as this. In the mean time, we must declare the following statements in his history to be lying: (a) The watch is not a paltry thing in any sense of the word. It is a gold repeater that cost £75; (b) it is a deliberate lie that the watch was given to Mr. Wolmarans nine months before the Silati Concession was asked for.

Now, if the hero of Derdepoort wants to show the public that there is a grain of honour in his character, let him say: (a) Who was the great bosom friend who out of pure friendship gave him, Wolmarans, a gold watch worth £75. We challenge Wolmarans to mention his name. We also challenge him to mention the name of the person who offered him a spider. He will not dare to do either of these things. As far as sharp words and insinuations are concerned, if they are not applicable to the coward himself, then he knows well enough to whom they are applicable. The public will also know this shortly.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

We shall take it upon ourselves to expose one of the thieves shortly (who is now in Zoutpansberg), and we shall also then we hope be able to prove what influence was exercised upon Jabie Kruger and by whom.

Now, as far as voting in the Silati Railway Concession is concerned, we repeat that he VOTED IN FAVOUR OF IT. Wolmarans lies when by his letter to the public he wishes to make it understood that he voted against the Concession. It is true that he voted against referring the Concession to a Committee. But in Article 919, page 288, of the Minutes of 1891, it will be found that he voted IN FAVOUR OF the final resolution, whereby the Silati Railway Concession was confirmed. There were present on that day twenty-four members, and the proposal was accepted by twenty-one against three votes, and the three who voted against it, as noted, were Prinsloo, Stoop, and De Clerck. Wolmarans has thus voted in favour of it. If, then, he was against the Concession originally, as he wishes it to be believed, what then brought about this change in his opinion? Was it not a gold watch? He may possibly convince a fool of the contrary, but no honourable man, this unworthy Volksraad member. What he says about the man who gave him a gold watch is also a lie. He was known throughout the entire country as the agent for the Silati applicants.

And this is the man who dares to speak about patriotism and treason. Can anybody commit a greater treason against his people and his nation than to accept a gold watch for his vote as Volksraad member, and then endeavour by all kinds of lies to get out of it by endeavouring to make the people believe that he was not influenced by the gold watch, as he voted against the Concession; a far-reaching lie, as we have shown from the Minutes. The public will now be able to judge for itself what value in future to attach to the word of Mr. A. D. W. Wolmarans. He wishes to suggest that he was against the Concession. Let the people for one moment take into consideration his conduct:—(a) On Thursday, 21st May, 1891, he voted against referring the Concession to a Committee without giving reasons (page 49,

APPENDICES TO THE STATEMENT.

Minutes of 1891). (b) On Monday, 13th July, 1891, Wolmarans spoke in the following sense about the Concession :—His burghers were against confirming the Concession because the Government had to guarantee 4 per cent. If this was not expunged he would vote against the concession (page 271 Minutes, 1891). (c) On Wednesday, 15th July, 1891, Wolmarans declared :—THAT HE THOUGHT THE RAILWAY WAS UNAVOIDABLE, BUT THE ONLY QUESTION HERE WAS THE 4 PER CENT., AND AFTER HEARING THE EXPLANATION OF THE MEMBER FOR STANDERTON, THAT THE GOVERNMENT PAID INTEREST TO BE ABLE TO EXERCISE CONTROL, HE COULD AGREE TO THE ARTICLE. (d) On Wednesday, 15th July, 1891, he voted for the final confirmation of the Silati Railway Concession (page 288 Minutes, 1891).

Wolmarans received his watch between the 21st May, 1891, and the 15th July, 1891.

A splendid patriot truly whose honour is not worth more than a gold watch.

TRANSVAAL REVENUE

STATEMENT SHOWING THE REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE

REVENUE.	1894.	1895.	Estimates, 1895.
Import Dues	£812,942 15 10	£1,084,724 5 4	£900,000 0 0
Rent... ..	13,886 17 4	14,947 19 7	14,613 0 0
Quit-rents, Current ...	17,282 19 6	19,556 2 6	19,958 0 0
Ditto in Arrear ...	4,070 16 6	6,388 15 4	6,475 0 0
Transfer Dues	91,414 9 11	398,097 13 8	250,000 0 0
Auction Dues	4,857 17 5	6,734 13 3	5,505 0 0
Licenses	120,922 18 11	134,956 16 5	126,880 0 0
Stamp Dues	119,348 0 10	190,701 8 3	125,000 0 0
Prospecting Licenses ...	142,246 5 10	492,753 9 9	250,000 0 0
Personal Taxes, Current...	9,950 10 0	14,804 10 0	13,870 0 0
Ditto in Arrear ...	1,584 0 0	3,441 10 0	1,982 0 0
Road Taxes, Current ...	11,542 9 6	13,017 17 0	13,035 0 0
Ditto in Arrear ...	1,159 17 6	1,876 3 0	1,003 0 0
Railway Taxes, Current...	6,800 17 0	8,461 17 0	8,930 0 0
Ditto in Arrear ...	1,606 17 6	3,290 17 6	2,054 0 0
Native Taxes	72,227 18 2	74,832 6 6	74,350 0 0
Fines, &c.	39,258 0 7	44,142 15 10	35,870 0 0
Diggers' Licenses... ..	43,465 4 4	48,575 6 2	46,850 0 0
Sale of Ammunition ...	12,426 13 7	10,852 3 5	12,360 0 0
Market Fees	4,620 1 0	7,444 11 11	5,105 0 0
Pound Fees	2,243 12 3	2,693 9 1	2,400 0 0
Interest	204,226 8 2	155,716 12 9	156,122 0 0
Special Receipts	285,877 0 10	5,206 9 7	2,585 0 0
Divers do	17,237 4 5	17,588 2 10	10,075 0 0
Sale of Government Property	11,629 17 1	9,535 14 4	18,163 0 0
Postal Department (in- cluding the receipts of Telegraph Department)	126,579 1 7	187,825 17 7	131,000 0 0
Education	1,082 1 9	2,506 6 0	2,500 0 0
Land Sales... ..	549 10 10	503 2 0	375 0 0
Machine Stand Licenses	798 2 6	1,069 6 11	855 0 0
Stand Licenses	32,599 18 7	47,691 0 4	35,433 0 0
Leases	5,555 17 0	24,966 11 8	16,000 0 0
Coal Licenses	1,217 8 0	1,524 8 6	1,200 0 0
Pension Fund	1,474 12 6	2,265 16 0	1,990 0 0
Toll Receipts	18,840 15 0	13,155 12 6	11,500 0 0
Dog Tax	2,355 2 3	1,213 2 6	2,870 0 0
Excises	577 4 0	73 16 0	500 0 0
Concessions and Mijn- pacht (Mining Leases)	—*	28,996 5 11	23,079 0 0
Post Office Savings Bank	—	3,223 0 9	4,500 0 0
War Tax	—*	6,940 0 0	7,970 0 0
Inspection of Boilers ...	3,218 12 0	4,101 0 0	3,960 0 0
Duties on Sale of Dynamite	—*	29,643 0 0	25,000 0 0
Receipts State Printing Office	—†	7,548 10 9	6,500 0 0
Sale of Explosives ...	—*	405,366 19 0	400,000 0 0
	£2,247,728 0 0	£3,539,955 7 5	£2,778,417 0 0
Deposits	369,579 13 3	644,402 12 6	
Repayment of Loans	174,804 10 7	174,554 7 5	
Total Revenue ...	£2,792,112 3 10	£4,358,912 7 5	
Surplus, 31st Dec., 1894 ...	...	993,269 2 3	
		£5,352,181 9 8	

* Formerly under Special Receipts.

† Formerly under Divers Receipts.

AUDITOR'S OFFICE, PRETORIA.
3rd February, 1896.

AND EXPENDITURE.

FOR THE YEAR 1895 COMPARED WITH THE YEAR 1894.

EXPENDITURE	1894.	1895.	Estimates, 1895.
Fixed Salaries	£419,775 13 10	£570,047 12 7	£628,614 17 0
Pensions	2,761 0 0	3,852 18 0	3,868 0 0
Cost of the Collection of Public Revenue	12,583 14 3	12,253 16 2	10,660 0 0
Administration of Justice	30,544 1 2	37,774 17 9	34,350 0 0
Education	41,575 5 10	56,800 8 0	56,270 0 0
Hospitals	39,330 1 6	55,466 10 8	73,450 0 0
Police and Prisons	64,286 18 4	59,092 12 2	59,896 0 0
Rent... ..	4,530 15 2	7,908 13 4	7,200 0 0
Transfers	17,895 2 3	20,164 13 0	22,100 0 0
Postal Department	46,716 15 5	45,204 5 9	47,757 10 0
Telegraphic Department...	42,179 7 0	34,834 14 0	35,000 0 0
Public Works	260,962 18 11	353,724 1 0	442,050 0 0
Divers Services	163,547 2 0	95,278 14 9	85,051 0 0
Owners' Share in Diggers' and Prospecting Li- censes, &c.	—†	210,940 7 11	150,000 0 0
Interest	148,637 15 6	148,505 0 5	140,189 11 8
Repayment of Loans	4,664 3 6	4,721 12 9	4,700 0 0
Natives	537 13 2	1,498 1 11	1,450 0 0
Military Service	28,158 6 1	87,308 13 5	154,470 0 0
Purchase of Fixed Pro- perties	75,859 16 11	135,723 15 0	110,000 0 0
Special Expenses	330,181 18 10	205,335 17 7	169,100 0 0
Purchase of Explosives	—*	519,907 9 11	400,000 0 0
Expenses in connection with Swaziland	—*	12,750 14 6	45,000 0 0
	£1,734,728 9 8	£2,679,095 10 7	£2,690,275 18 8
Withdrawn Deposits	373,533 12 7	575,959 5 10	
Loans	176,031 16 11	870,475 14 1	
Total Expenditure	£2,284,293 19 2	£4,125,530 10 6	
Surplus, 31st Dec., 1895...		1,226,650 19 2	
		£5,352,181 9 8	

* Formerly under Special Expenses.

† Formerly under Divers Services.

J. S. MARAIS, *Auditor-General.*
P. MARAIS, *Accountant.*

MR. LEONARD'S EVIDENCE

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE

ON BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA.

1897.

MR. LEONARD'S EVIDENCE

Before the Select Committee on British South Africa.

CHAIRMAN.

7870. Perhaps you will assist the Committee, so far as you can, by limiting the extent of the matter which is to be put before the Committee; but I will ask you one question, which I think will enable you to state shortly what you have to say in each case. You were, I think, chairman of what was called the National Union?—Yes.

7871. When were you elected?—In December 1894.

7872. Who was the first chairman?—Mr. John Tudhope.

7873. You, I think, were the second?—I was the second. I had been connected with the union from the date of its formation in 1892.

7874. You desire to make a statement on the position of the Uitlanders in the Transvaal; but before we go to that, I should like you to tell the Committee about what is known of the Jameson letter of invitation, with special regard as to how far that letter was to be used by Dr. Jameson without further reference to the union; did you understand that the letter was to be used by Dr. Jameson without further reference to the union?—Absolutely not; I say in the most emphatic manner, no.

7875. Will you give the Committee a sketch of the reasons which induced you to go to Cape Town on 25th December, and of what took place there at the interviews you had with Mr.

Rhodes?—Of course I can answer that question, but I think the Committee would get a clearer idea if you would allow me, in connection with that point, to state the history of my connection with this raid, or my first knowledge of the raid, down to the end. If I went into the question of what took me to Cape Town in December, without stating what had passed before, I am afraid the Committee would get an incorrect picture.

7876. We have got a certain amount of information as to what passed; evidence has been given by several witnesses; I dare say you are familiar with the evidence which has already been given?—Generally, yes; but I think I may make it more clear. In October, 1895, I had an interview with Mr. Rhodes in Cape Town, which was the basis of our subsequent action in Johannesburg, and I do not think that the Committee will get a clear idea, or at least will understand exactly, what the reason for my going to Cape Town on the 25th December was as fully as they otherwise would do, unless I refer to that.

7877. Will you kindly shorten your statement as far as you can?—In October I went to Cape Town with Mr. Lionel Phillips. We had given up all hope at that time of getting any redress of the political situation by constitutional means, and it had been suggested that it was perfectly clear that disturbances would break out in Johannesburg sooner or later, that the public were getting very excited. Practically the thing was developing into a race feeling, owing to the indignities put upon the British section of the community; there was not merely a denial of their rights, but a taking away of their rights; and there was a great deal of disturbance; and it was felt that it was very much better to organize any steps which might be taken, than to allow them simply to be a failure or turn into a riot. It was suggested that Mr. Rhodes was willing to help us in this matter; and the result was an interview between Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Hammond, Colonel Rhodes, and myself at Cape Town, in October 1895. I had a conversation with Mr. Rhodes (I cannot remember the exact date in October, but it was somewhere towards the latter end of October, I think) in Mr. Lionel Phillips' presence;

MR. CHARLES LEONARD'S EVIDENCE.

and generally the outline of what followed was agreed upon. It was then agreed that I should go away that day and draw up what was called a manifesto, which was to be published throughout the South African States to steady opinion and to show what the reason of our action was and what our objects were. I have the original of that manifesto here. I think it is important that it should be put in. It is the memorandum that is referred to in one of the telegrams as the document left with Mr. Stevens.

7878. You are not referring to the one that appears in the Blue Book?—No; this is another document altogether. I should like, if I may, to put in the original (*producing document*). I had discussed with Mr. Rhodes the question of what the attitude of Cape Colony would be in the event of this trouble arising in Johannesburg, and he assured me that the feeling was so irritated, even among the Dutch population in Cape Colony, that they would welcome a change, and it was in order that the various colonies and states in South Africa should know what we were driving at that this document was drawn up; and this document forms the basis of my agreement with Mr. Rhodes. Shall I read it?

7878. I think it is not necessary to read it if you will hand it in. (*The same was handed in.*)—It contains shortly a statement of the grievances and the reasons why we rose, but I think it is essential to point out this. Perhaps if I were to read one page of this document it will show the essential portion. After stating what our grievances were, and what our position was, the manifesto goes on: 'We want (1) Full representation in the councils of the State in proportion to our numbers and vested interests. Being the majority of the people we claim to be included in a true government of the people by the people for the people. (2) Proper control of public moneys and true responsibility to the people. (3) Absolute independence of the courts and the raising of the status of the judges. (4) The possession and control of our railways and public works. (5) The abolition of monopolies. (6) Free trade with the neighbouring states of South Africa in all products thereof. (7) A settled policy, which, while guarding the legiti-

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

mate interests of the South African Republic zealously, shall foster the good will of the other South African states, and strengthen the bonds of commerce and good feeling between us and them. (8) Pure administration. (9) Equal rights for the English and Dutch languages.' That is the statement of the objects which we had in view.

7880. That states shortly the manifesto that you prepared? Yes, substantially.

7881. We have heard pretty well the history of the franchise, and I dare say you are familiar with the evidence that has been given to the Committee on that point; that one of the grievances put forward was that the Uitlanders were debarred from the franchise?—Yes; it was the main grievance naturally. We felt that if we had representation we would be able to protect our interests, but I want to say clearly here the greatest grievance we felt was this. It has been suggested, I think Mr. Schreiner has said, that patience and conciliation would have brought all right. I want to state here that we had tried that for eight or nine years, and it was not a case of the Transvaal being in a backward condition, but it had deliberately gone back from nineteenth-century civilisation to seventeenth-century civilisation; in other words, we had deliberately settled in this country and tried to develop it by industry and capital invested there and made our homes there; and then they took away our rights *mala fide*; that is our case.

7882. It has been asserted that the new-comers did not desire to take part in the affairs of the country; I gather from what you say that you do not agree with that view?—Absolutely not. If that suggestion arises or is supposed to arise out of Mr. Phillips' evidence, I can only say that we were very justly angered, I think, at the capitalists' view of the thing. The people up to 1892 had lived in the hope that the Government would change, and that things would come right: but in 1892 the Second Volksraad had proved what it was really intended to be, I believe, the veriest sham under the sun; and in 1892 the people formed the National Union, and so far from their not

wanting political rights or not wanting to take a part, the people were absolutely unanimous and most enthusiastically determined in their desire for political equality on fair lines.

7883. I take it, you would say that that feeling rather grew than diminished?—From 1892 it was steadily organized, and has been constantly growing since; purely constitutional in the first instance, and culminating in 1895 in unconstitutional action.

7884. Had the railway extension from the Cape to the Transvaal anything to do with the development of that feeling?—Up to 1890 President Krugar was absolutely opposed to the construction of any railway connecting us with the British Colonies. He wanted a railway to connect Pretoria and Johannesburg with Delagoa Bay, which is not under British influence. In 1890 there was a grave danger of famine in Johannesburg. The price of everything was enhanced very much, and the delays in getting mining machinery, and all sorts of things, were very irritating; and in 1890 a famine had nearly come about in Johannesburg; practically there was a great want of food.

7885. Just to make your point clear, would you tell us the nearest railway which then existed from the Cape to Pretoria?—The railway had been extended through Cape Colony by Cape Colony, and by arrangement with the Orange Free State, I think, as far as Bloemfontein at that time. There was a gap of uncovered land between Bloemfontein and Johannesburg and Pretoria, and President Kruger was opposed to the extension of that line. He used all his influence to oppose even the extension of the railway through the Orange Free State from Bloemfontein to the Vaal River, and would not consent to the extension from the Vaal River northwards until he had got the Delagoa Bay Railway complete.

7886. Then, as a matter of fact, was the railway from Pretoria to Delagoa Bay completed before the connection was made between the Cape Railway and the Transvaal?—No, the pressure of public opinion in 1890 was so great that President Kruger changed his policy. The railway was extended from Bloemfontein northwards to Johannesburg and Pretoria, and we

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

had railway connection with the Cape ports probably two or three years before the connection was opened between Delagoa Bay and Johannesburg and Pretoria.

7887. There was a section of the Boers, was there not, favourable to the claims of the Uitlander?—More or less favourable, yes; that is to say, they did not go as far as we thought they should go, but if their views had been the dominant views, if they had been in the majority, we should never have had any trouble.

7888. Did they take any steps to give effect to their views?—On each occasion when the franchise debates came up, and other matters, such as taxation by custom duties, and so on, there was always a minority of six or seven or eight. I cannot define the number exactly at the moment on the different debates, but there was always a minority of some six or seven in favour of a liberal government headed by men like Mr. Lucas Meyer, Mr. Jeppe, Mr. Marais, and Mr. Jagers.

7889. Would you say that any other influences were brought to bear upon the Transvaal Government to resist the claims of the Uitlanders?—The President himself, I am absolutely convinced, had such a deadly hostility to everything English that he was the *fons et origo* of the whole business; I am perfectly certain if I gave the history of the franchise legislation that would be incontestable. The extreme Boers were of the same mind with him, and behind them he had Continental influences which, from self-interest alone, apart from race hatred, drove them to foment every discord that could exist, or could be thought to exist, between the Uitlanders and the governing authority in the Transvaal.

MR. LABOUCHERE.

7890. Is this President Kruger you are referring to?—I am speaking of the Hollanders principally; the Hollanders and one German at least.

CHAIRMAN.

7891. From the period you mention, in 1890 to 1895, I take it, there was a constant effort on the part of the Uitlanders to

obtain redress for what they deemed to be their grievances?—There were repeated endeavours. In 1892 resolutions were passed unanimously by a meeting at which I should think at least 3000 respectable men were present, of all classes, excluding the capitalists; at that meeting, in fact, one of the bitter cries was that the capitalist stood out and left the middlemen and the working men to fight the battle for freedom.

7892. It has been suggested, as you know, that the revolt rather had its origin in some sordid object or motive; do you agree with that suggestion?—I can scarcely find language strong enough to repudiate such a statement. The capitalists joined what had been a popular movement ever since the people began to think about politics. I say the capitalists joined it, and the thing was hastened by their action and their adhesion; but to say that this thing was the work of capitalists is absurd so far as Johannesburg is concerned.

7893. You would say that the movement was not mainly, or even largely, the result of what is called the financial element?—The financial element, I am satisfied, had absolutely nothing to do with it. The financial support and adhesion of capitalists made a revolution possible, for this simple reason. If you will allow me, I would like to explain why we eventually went in with them at all; we were an unorganized and unarmed lot of men in Johannesburg. Without very influential aid from Cape Colony we could not hope to obtain arms or ammunition through the ports, and we could not send the hat round in Johannesburg for subscriptions to buy arms; it was absolutely necessary that somebody should put down a big sum or big sums of money for the purpose, and that is one of the main reasons why I accepted the assistance of the capitalists in the matter.

7894. Had the National Union the support and approval of all sections of the Uitlanders in Johannesburg?—Yes, I think it was one of the most representative bodies ever known in the country; all classes, workmen, professional men, mechanics, shopkeepers, and all sorts. Up to 1895 no capitalist was ever seen on our platform, indeed that was one of our grievances; Mr. Advo-

cate Wessels described them as skulking round the street corners in Johannesburg instead of helping us in the fight for liberty.

7895. You have told us that they did ultimately give you some assistance?—Yes, the capitalists had supported President Kruger in his election in 1893, and they had hoped that he would bring things right in time; their interests were so large that they did not want to risk a revolution if it was to be avoided, and I am satisfied from my talk with them at the time that the reason why they went in was that they were satisfied absolutely that there was no hope of getting reform in the ordinary way, that the condition was intolerable, that the great mass of the people felt the condition was intolerable, and that there was grave danger of riot and the destruction of things and failure. They then decided, I think, to join us, in order that the movement should be an organized one, with a hope of success.

7896. Would you say that they joined you rather on your invitation or that they sought to join you?—It is a little difficult to define it exactly. There is a significant note at the foot of the original document, the manifesto which I have handed in. The document is in my handwriting, and it contains interlineations by Mr. John Hays Hammond and Mr. Lionel Phillips; and there is a separate footnote here in Mr. Phillips' handwriting: 'To be issued by National Union. National Union to be re-enforced by recruits from moneyed classes first.'

7897. Do you wish to say anything upon the subject of commandeering?—I was not in Johannesburg in 1894, but I know the very great dissatisfaction that there was. The Transvaal Government had legislated away practically all hope of our ever getting the franchise. They then made a little war with the native chief, Malaboch, and wretched tribes like that, and they claimed the right to commandeer British subjects to go and wage these wars; they were little squabbles which the English section I do not believe would ever have brought about; speaking here deliberately, I say I think they were brought about by the oppression of the natives.

7898. You were not in Johannesburg, you say, at the time?—No, but I know the history of it very well.

MR. CHARLES LEONARD'S EVIDENCE.

7899.—You cannot speak from personal knowledge?—No, but I know there was a great deal of dissatisfaction. I wish to state this, the Uitlanders had no objection to fighting. The Boers often tried to make out that we refused to fight, and yet wanted the franchise. My statement of the case is, that we said we objected to be driven to fight in a war that we had no voice in the making of. We said give us the franchise, and give us equality of rights, and we will take equality of obligation.

7900. We have had some figures with regard to the population of the Uitlanders and the burgher population; perhaps if you have seen these figures, you will be able to confirm them as being pretty accurate?—I do not recall the figures quite, but perhaps I might be allowed to state my own figures in the absence of absolutely accurate statistics.

7901. Will you do so?—The official Hand Book of the Transvaal (I am dealing with males only, it is the only way I can get at it) gives the number of the men, the men liable to military service, as 25,000.

MR. JOHN ELLIS.

7902. What date is that?—1895. I have not seen the Hand Book since that. That is the number which is taken from the field-cornet's list. The field-cornet is the ward officer, whose duty it is to keep a list of all men liable to service, really all the men in his district. These lists include a very large number of Uitlanders; my own name, for instance, is on one of those lists, and I am satisfied that the male Boer population, the burgher population, at the outside, does not exceed 20,000 men. I believe the Uitlander male population is at least 50,000 men, but of course not all in Johannesburg.

CHAIRMAN.

7903. Could you make any estimate of the ages of the men respectively in those two classes?—The Johannesburg men are, as a rule, men in the prime of life.

7904. When you say the Johannesburg men, you are speaking of the Uitlanders?—Yes, the Uitlanders as they call them. There

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

are very few old men amongst them; I would say they are men ranging from twenty to fifty. There is a very large amount of family life in Johannesburg, but the children are mostly young still; I am speaking of men that are about in business, and that sort of thing.

7905. In giving the figure 50,000, you refer to the men, roughly, say, between twenty and fifty years of age?—Yes; not all congregated in Johannesburg, but in the different gold centres and towns in the Transvaal.

7906. Would the 25,000 burghers you spoke of range between the same ages?—The field-cornets' lists include everybody from the age of sixteen upwards. When a Transvaal burgher's son becomes of the age of sixteen, he is liable to military service, and his name is enrolled on the list.

MR. BIGHAM.

7907. And he gets a vote?—He gets a vote.

CHAIRMAN.

7908. Have you anything to say upon the proportionate holdings of property between the two classes you refer to?—Yes; I should like to say something upon that, because it is an element that enters into the equity of our case very largely. I think I can state with every confidence that I am approximately accurate in saying that the Uitlander holds one-half of the registered land in the country. The country consists of property which is held under grant from the Government, and what would be known as Crown lands, State lands, land which has never become the subject of title; excluding that which we say the Government holds in trust for the general body of the people, the Uitlander holds at least one-half of the land which has been the subject of grant. I know that the Government have issued official lists which would show the contrary, but I believe I am absolutely justified in making the statement I do from my own knowledge. Before passing from that point I wish to add also that we own the whole of the mining property. All the industry and all the commerce of the country is carried on by the Uitlanders. So that, broadly, I

MR. CHARLES LEONARD'S EVIDENCE.

would say the Uitlanders hold at least nine-tenths of the total aggregate property in the country.

7909. We have heard something about the revenue and expenditure in the Transvaal. I dare say you have seen the figures which have been put forward, comparing the revenue at one period with the revenue at a more recent period; and the same with the expenditure?—Yes.

7910. Have you anything you wish to add on that subject?—I cannot say I am quite seized with a knowledge of the figures which have been given. I could give figures.

7911. I dare say you have them in your mind quite clearly enough?—The revenue before the gold discovery or development, I think, may be fairly stated as not more than £150,000.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON.

7912. Have we not got all this in the evidence?—I will be very brief about it if you will allow me to give the figures.

CHAIRMAN.

7913. You say the revenue before the gold discoveries was about £150,000 a year?—Yes, and the revenue last year was between £4,000,000 and £5,000,000. The expenditure has gone up by leaps and bounds, as you see by reference to their own statements. I do not know whether the Committee have got those statements.

7914. Yes, we have got the last one?—For 1896?

7915. Yes.—I have a comparative statement for 1894–95, too. Our case is this, that the country could be governed better than it is governed now for a million and a half a year; that unnecessary taxation is exacted from us; that we bear almost the whole burden of taxation, and that money is spent in objects which are wholly unnecessary, and wastefully.

7916. Is there any truth in the suggestion that the Legislature has interfered with private rights: I mean especially in cases *sub judice*?—That has been one of the gravest grievances that the Uitlander has felt, because he had absolutely no guardian

for his rights but the High Court; and the Legislature interfered on several occasions; I will mention cases. In the case of Doms, after summons was issued claiming a declaration that Doms was entitled to twenty-four farms, the Volksraad passed a resolution declaring that Doms had no right of action (I am giving the substance of it), and this resolution was sent to the State Attorney, who pleaded it in the court, and the plaintiff was ousted from his rights. In the case of MacCorquodale, a similar thing happened; a large amount of land was in question there. In the case of *Williams v. The Geldenhuis Estate Company*, the Volksraad, *pendente lite*, passed a resolution defining the clause in the Gold Law, which was the subject of the action on which the plaintiff's case was based.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON.

7917. What date was that?—I will not be absolutely certain, but I think it was in 1893. About the same time there was a case of a proclamation also by the United Langlaagte Company, which the court set aside as an interference with the court's privileges. In the cyanide case the mining companies had brought an action in which they had spent £30,000 to have certain cyanide patents declared invalid. While this action was pending the Volksraad entertained two petitions for an alteration in the patent laws, and they were only lost in one case by 12 to 11, I think, and in the other case by the casting vote of the chairman, and the effect of both those petitions would have been to oust the plaintiff in that action. Then there is the last case, the Brown case, which arose in 1895, referred to in that document which I signed in December 1895, which is published in Blue Book 7933. The result of these proceedings was to create such a profound feeling of insecurity that men felt they never knew what was going to happen next. The court was the sole guardian of their rights, and if the court was to be interfered with they felt that there was absolutely no security for anything, person or property. Before I pass from that court question I would like to add this, because what I feel to-day is that I have got to put before the Committee a picture of the condition of things that moved men to action in 1895. I do

MR. CHARLES LEONARD'S EVIDENCE.

not want to waste any time at all, but I think it is only fair that I should be allowed to put that before the Committee. In connection with this courts question I would like to be allowed to put one document in. I will tell you what it is. In 1894, apart from these constant interferences, the Government introduced, and the Legislature contemplated passing, a law which would have had the effect of making the courts subordinate to the Executive Government. By the constitution, as it was, the courts were independent. One of the broad effects, or one of the broad statements in these proposed changes was that the courts should be free only in the act of giving judgment. The Chief Justice of the Transvaal made a speech or rather gave an address, for it was not a speech, at Rustenburg, which I think it is highly important for this Committee to have before them. I would like to put in an extract from that address. (*Producing the same.*)

CHAIRMAN.

7918. Can you tell us shortly what it is?—This is a public statement made by the Chief Justice of the South African Republic, which attracted great attention.

7919. If you will be good enough to put it in, we shall have it before us. (*The same was handed in.*) Will you say what it is, so we may have it on the Notes?—It is an address by the Chief Justice in October 1894 on the proposed alteration of the Constitution, especially in relation to the status of the courts.

7920. Were those alterations carried out?—No; there was a great outcry, and they were not carried out. But it shows the intention of the Government right through; that is the point I want to make.

7921. Have you anything to say with regard to the municipal government of Johannesburg?—Yes; the municipal government was unsatisfactory in many ways. The people's representatives could not enter upon an expenditure exceeding £150 without the consent of the Government; a Government nominee practically sat over them; a knowledge of Dutch was necessary (we lost a couple of our best members for the town because they could not

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

understand Dutch); there was a very great sense of grievance, owing to the town not being able to raise an adequate loan to make streets and various municipal things; and the public health suffered very much, owing to the prevalence of dust and insanitary conditions. But the Government was always steadily opposed to grant anything like what we know as full municipal powers; they were afraid of creating an *imperium in imperio*.

7922. Has the municipal authority of Johannesburg power to raise loans independently of the Government?—No.

7923. Is there, as a matter of fact, a municipal debt?—There is a municipal debt; a quite inconsiderable debt, I believe.

7924. That is raised, I presume, with the sanction of the Government?—With a sanction of the Government and the sanction of the ratepayers.

7925. But the security, I presume, is the security of the municipality?—The security of the town property, of the ratepayers.

7926. That is to say, there is no Government security at the back of it?—No, the municipal law has been altered during the last twelve months, and I think very much for the worse, because where, as formerly, whatever the other limitations of the sanitary committee were, there was no provision requiring that these men should be burghers; to-day the law requires that there shall not be more than twenty-four members of the sanitary committee of the municipality, of whom one-half at least shall be burghers; the chairman is appointed by the Government, paid by the Government, removable by the Government, and he has a casting vote on all matters. Twelve of the members of the sanitary committee therefore have to be burghers. There are no burghers in Johannesburg except a few hundred men living in the outskirts of the town, of the very lowest class. They are, in fact, the men that send, and have sent regularly, the one member for Johannesburg to the Volksraad. Those are the men from whom twelve out of the twenty-four members would have to be chosen. They have the power to raise loans, but subject to the approval of the Government.

MR. CHARLES LEONARD'S EVIDENCE.

7927. Would you tell us whether the police are under the municipal authority or under the State?—I believe the municipality now has the power to appoint the municipal police, only that is a subordinate section of the police. The general police force is under the Government.

7928. May we take it that that is adequate for the protection of the municipality?—There have been the gravest possible complaints about the police force. Crime has gone undetected over and over again. One regulation was that no man who was not a burgher or a naturalised burgher as they call them, was qualified for appointment to the force, and these Transvaal burghers knew very little about the wilds of Whitechapel or Berlin. We were absolutely in the hands of those men.

7929. Would you say that the police force is inadequate in number, or inefficient in quality?—It is inadequate in number, I think, and also so in quality and efficiency. We have had the most glaring murders and other crimes committed there without the hope of detection.

7930. I think you hold the view that a certain amount of laxity prevails in the administration of the Government?—Yes.

7931. Have you any facts within your own knowledge relating to that which you could state to the Committee?—Well, there is laxity and public immorality, I might call it. I would take such cases as are cited in that document of December, 1895, which angered the public. What could become of the Civil Service when such things were allowed as the Smit case or the Stiemens case? Smit's case, shortly, was this. He was the head of an important district, the Krugersdorp mining district. He disappeared from his office, and was away three or four months; he had got a week's leave when he left. His *locum tenens* took over his official cash, and among the cash was Smit's own cheque for £150. This cheque was dishonoured on being presented to the bank. Smit remained away, and after three or four months he came back again. He was in the meantime openly charged with being a thief in a Dutch newspaper, and in an English weekly newspaper. He has never dared to bring, or at any rate has not

brought, an action to clear himself, and the Government has not called upon him to clear himself. He is now in the Government service as the head of an important district, Klerksdorp; he is the mining commissioner there. Stiemens' case was a case in which Stiemens, senior, had applied for a pension that had been refused to him. Then he was put up to ask for a grant of some land near Johannesburg.

Mr. Labouchere.] I would ask whether all these cases do not open a very wide field, not only for cross-examination, but for rebutting evidence.

Mr. Secretary Chamberlain.] We have given the fullest license to witnesses on the other side, surely this witness may be allowed to give his evidence. It does not appear to be likely to be long.

Mr. Labouchere.] Has the Committee any objection to my calling a number of witnesses whom I am prepared to put in to rebut this evidence? I do not want to do so if I can avoid it, but this evidence opens a wide field.

Mr. Secretary Chamberlain.] The Committee will consider that when the witnesses are proposed.

Mr. Ellis.] If this evidence is nearly at an end I will not take the objection I was about to take.

CHAIRMAN.

7932. My question was in order to afford you an opportunity to give the cases within your own personal knowledge, and I understand the two or three cases you have mentioned illustrate what you wish to give as your evidence on this point?—Yes, the case I was mentioning was a matter which was before the High Court; it is on public record.

7933. You have not told us, I think, what passed at the interviews with Mr. Rhodes in December, about which I asked in a previous question. I dare say it was my fault, but in giving us a short history, as you did, of your conversations with Mr. Rhodes, I do not think you carried it down to the point I put in my question since. I think you went to Cape Town on the

25th December, did you not?—Yes, I was sent away on the night of the 25th.

MR. JOHN ELLIS.

7934. It is in evidence that you got to Cape Town on Saturday, the 28th?—Yes, I got to Cape Town on Saturday, the 28th, but there is a thousand miles between Johannesburg and Cape Town.

CHAIRMAN.

7935. Could you tell the Committee what took place at that interview; what was the subject of your conversation?—I think it is necessary to state what the Johannesburg people were going in for this revolution for.

7936. Will you do so?—They wanted reform; they wanted a new constitution. That was the feeling; it was the feeling that it was only right and only possible to do that; I mean there was no desire to hoist the Union Jack, to put it plainly. It was a solemn compact with Mr. Rhodes that that was the basis of our action; and on the 25th December,—I will tell you exactly what happened. Mr. George Farrar came to me at 7 o'clock in the morning, and he was very much disturbed. He said to me, 'I hear, if Jameson comes in, he is going to hoist the Union Jack.' He said, 'I have induced every man who has joined me, and who is helping me in this business, to go in on the basis that we want a reformed republic.' I remember his very words were: 'This is the Boer country; it would be absolutely morally wrong to do anything else, and I will not go a yard further in this business unless that basis is maintained.' I had never heard any question about a doubt as to the basis before, and I was astonished. I asked him where the news came from, but I could not get to learn from him where it came from; it seemed to be in the air somehow (I knew later in the day where it came from). I scouted the whole thing, and told him not to be distressed, and told him of this document which I have put in to-day. I told him of my conversation with Mr. Rhodes, and said I did not believe there was the slightest reason for his distress. He went away satisfied. Later in the day, about half-past eleven, I went to the club, and

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

there I met an American, Captain Mein, and he started the same thing. His words were : ' If this is a case of England gobbling this country up, I am not in it ; otherwise I am up to my neck in it.' I tried to soothe him. I could not find out where it came from. However, I did not take any further notice of it. I had some friends to lunch, and about a quarter to three, or three o'clock, as I was sitting at table, I got a message to come to a meeting. When I went down to this meeting at Colonel Rhodes' house I met assembled there practically the whole of the men who knew anything about this business at the time. They had unanimously passed a resolution affirming that they would not consent to any such action on the part of Jameson if he came in ; that they deemed themselves bound to the men who were behind them, and who were following them, and that the thing must be set straight. They had passed that resolution when I got there. I only got up and said I could not agree to the alteration of the basis, supposing it had been made ; that it would be morally wrong in trying to steal the Boer country, and that we were morally right in going for reform. I sat down ; and they then decided to send me to Cape Town to get this matter cleared up. I saw at once what would happen. I saw in the room in a minute what was going to happen outside : dissension and disunion at the very eve of action. I went to Cape Town to get this thing authoritatively settled. When I got to Cape Town I told Mr. Rhodes what had happened, and he gave me assurances that the basis had not been altered. Mr. Hamilton was with me, and a telegram was sent from us. That telegram has never been published, but there was a telegram ; I have not a copy of it, but I know the contents of it generally. It was sent from us to Johannesburg, saying that Mr. Rhodes had given us satisfactory assurances, but that a new departure absolutely was necessary ; that they were to continue their preparations quietly and without any sort of hurry (by which we meant that the arms which were then dribbling into Johannesburg should be put in central places and be ready for use in case we should want them), and that Dr. Jameson had been advised accordingly. On the evening of

the Saturday, by arrangement, we met Mr. Rhodes again at his house, and there, I believe, almost at the instance of Mr. Rhodes, it was finally agreed that there was to be no overt action then. I had pointed out to Mr. Rhodes the absolute absurdity of Johannesburg going into an armed revolution at a time when they had not got a thousand rifles in the place. One of the bases of our action was that we should rush Pretoria Arsenal, take the Boer artillery away from them, and arm ourselves from their arsenal; we expected to get eight or ten thousand rifles from there, and we were to get 4500 rifles from Cape Town and a million rounds of ammunition and three Maxims. At the time I left Johannesburg we were absolutely unprepared for a revolution. It was not our fault that the arms had not reached us. I pointed out to Mr. Rhodes that everything was misfitting. Success could only come if everything dovetailed. We had to strike in Johannesburg and to strike in Pretoria on the same night, and Jameson was to come in from the west. There was disunion in the town itself; we could not organize the men in the town. But the question of the arms was the main thing; we had not got the arms that had been promised; as a matter of fact, I believe out of the 2500 rifles eventually 1500 reached Johannesburg on the Tuesday after Jameson had crossed the border. The final arrangement with Mr. Rhodes was this. He said: 'I will keep Jameson six months or nine months, or longer, on the border as a moral support to you. We will get these arms in to put you on a more level basis with the Boers. Go on with your meeting on the 6th January, and await the development of events.' That having been so, all that was required of me was to be back in Johannesburg in time for the 6th of January. On Monday afternoon, about midday, I got a message from Mr. Rhodes saying he wanted to see me; Mr. Hamilton and I were there: we were going to Johannesburg that night.

7937. This was on the Monday?—Yes, on the Monday was the first we heard of Jameson having crossed the border.

7938. That was the first you knew of it?—Yes, that was the first we knew of it.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

7939. It had been arranged, or rather you understood from Mr. Rhodes that it was his intention to keep Dr. Jameson on the border six or nine months, if necessary?—Yes, that was the final agreement on the night of Saturday, the 28th of December. Johannesburg was utterly unprepared to go on; the Boers had got on guard, and it would have been very, very risky, if not impossible, to carry out our plan to seize the arsenal and arm ourselves; and, as I say, we had not got the arms that had been promised us.

7940. Did you return to Johannesburg?—On the Monday I said I was going off there that same night at once; I had got my railway ticket in my pocket, and Mr. Rhodes implored me to stay and help him. Mr. Hamilton and I considered after we had heard what he said that he was right. He pointed out that we could not possibly reach Johannesburg until Thursday morning; that we would be of the greatest possible assistance at Cape Town at that stage; and he implored us, almost on his bended knees, to stop there and help him; and I deemed it my duty to stay there, and did stay there, until the Friday evening. On the Friday I started to get back to Johannesburg. On the way I got a telegram from a Mr. Stewart, the editor of a newspaper, saying that things were very critical, and that the Boers were in possession of the bridge.

7941. Was that a telegram from Johannesburg?—No, from Cape Town, saying that the position of things was very critical, and was becoming more critical every minute; that the Boers had taken possession of the bridge on the railway at Vereeniging, and were examining every passenger, and had made five arrests already. I went on to Victoria West, which is a couple of hundred miles further. At Victoria West I got a telegram from a friend of mine who had begged me to be guided by him on my northward journey, and had given me his solemn word that he would not interfere with me unless it was hopeless for me to get through the Boer lines. I got a telegram from him telling me to stop. I hesitated as to what I should do, but I thought to myself it is only a matter of the next train, he will telegraph to the

MR. CHARLES LEONARD'S EVIDENCE.

station; he has given me his solemn pledge not to interfere unless it is hopeless for me to get through: I had better stay. The next news I got was a telegram from the same man to this effect: 'Come back; passports have been established in Free State; Boers are on the line and are looking out for you, and you will never get there.' At the station the news that reached me was that Sir Hercules Robinson had been grossly insulted by the Boers on his arrival at Pretoria; that he had broken off diplomatic relations, that he was on the way down, and the Black Watch was on the way up. And further that a letter had been found on the battlefield signed by so-and-so, and the contents would be given. Under those circumstances I returned to Cape Town, as I deemed it hopeless to get through the lines; and I am satisfied, from information now, that I would never have got through. I had no passport, among other things, and could not get through the Free State; the Free State was in arms in aid of the Transvaal. I had therefore got to travel through a hostile territory for 300 miles, and then run into the net at this railway bridge, which was in the hands of these infuriated people.

7942. Then you returned to Cape Town?—I returned to Cape Town.

7943. Have you anything further you wish to add?—I do not know if the Committee is satisfied, or whether the evidence before them is sufficient as to the general condition of things in Johannesburg, the sense of indignity under which Englishmen were labouring there, and the danger to their material interests. This was not a capitalist business; I would not have touched the thing for a capitalist. I had no dislike for the Boers; I am South African born, and I had lived amongst them all my life; and had more than a friendly feeling towards them. I say that I and other men like me were driven into revolt by the deliberate destruction of our rights by the maladministration, by the general sense of hostility, and the conferring upon Continental people concessions and powers which gave them almost complete control of our destinies.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

7944. By Continental people you mean Europeans?—Germans and Hollanders. Those people were egging on the Boers to methods of legislation absolutely unknown to our people. The Boer idea of government was fair enough; it was perfectly liberal until after we got in, and then they altered it. Take the Press Law, the Alien Expulsion Law, and the Alien Immigration Law. These laws are said to be the outcome of the Jameson raid, but it is not so. The press has been threatened since 1893. They passed an Act in 1893 which virtually tried to destroy the plea of justification, and that intention was only upset by the bad draftsmanship of the clause in 1894; the Hollander newspaper, the *Volksstem*, actually published a draft law for the expulsion of aliens without trial almost in the same terms as that on the statute-book in 1896. That law was approved in principle in 1895, long before the Jameson raid, and is mentioned in the manifesto of 1895. We felt there was no security for liberty at all; we had no jury trial amongst ourselves; we had no representation and no protection of our interests; and even the courts, the sole bulwark of our liberties, were being threatened at every turn; and it was regarded as a disgrace to be an Englishman.

CHAIRMAN.

7945. Just let me try to get this clear, as I am not quite sure that we have got it clearly upon the Notes. With regard to Dr. Jameson crossing the border, I gather from you that you emphatically stated that your opinion of the letter given by your Union, and by those who signed the letter to Dr. Jameson, was that he was not to act upon it without further communication with you?—Certainly. The letter was given to him, as I found out afterwards, at his request. He came to Johannesburg, and got the letter from our hands in November, 1895. The origin of the letter is this, so far as I was concerned. On my return from Cape Town in October, 1895, with Mr. Phillips, he said to me, 'You know, I think we will have to give Jameson a letter' (evidently it had been talked about between him and somebody

MR. CHARLES LEONARD'S EVIDENCE.

else), 'and I think you should sign the letter as chairman of the National Union.' I objected most strenuously. I said I could not see the necessity for giving Dr. Jameson a letter at all; we were co-conspirators, if he liked to call it so, but I did not see why Jameson should have a letter. I said that I certainly could not give him a letter signed by me as chairman of the National Union, because I had no mandate from the National Union for such action. I dismissed the thing, and refused absolutely to sign. However, he returned to the charge in private conversation repeatedly, and eventually I gave way, and said, 'If you men will sign the letter, I will sign it as an individual with you.' Jameson came up in November, 1895, and that letter was given to him for the simple alleged reason that it would be required to justify him with the Chartered Company's directors afterwards, and under solemn pledge that it was not to be used for any other purpose. The letter had really nothing to do with his coming in; it was an anticipatory thing given at his request to be a justification afterwards; but the arrangements for his coming were subordinate altogether, and entirely distinct.

7946. You say they were subordinate?—I mean the letter had absolutely nothing to do really with the arrangements for his coming in.

7947. Then the news you received on the Monday that he had gone in was to you a great surprise?—It staggered me, of course. I knew he had wrecked everything at once.

SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

7948. Had you anything to do with the military preparations, if I may call them so, in Johannesburg?—No. You mean as regards the military control of the proposed revolution?

7949. Yes.—They were vested in Colonel Rhodes and a military committee. I had nothing to do with them except that I was advised, of course, from time to time, as to how things were proceeding. There was not very much to be done at that time.

7950. You have made a very natural comment upon the idea

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

that seemed to be entertained of having a full-blown revolution with only 1000 rifles?—We never dreamt of it; we were not madmen.

7951. You have no idea how it came to be the case that there were so few arms in Johannesburg?—No, to this day I do not know how it was that the arms promised did not reach us.

7952. You know that a very large amount of money was spent?—Yes; the details I do not know. I had nothing to do with the money. But I do know that, on my insistence, the town of Johannesburg was provisioned for six weeks; that we believed that there was a fortnight's provisions in the town, and we calculated we had got the town supplied for two months. That cost a great deal of money.

7953. Because you had to support the whole population?—We had the whole population to feed.

7954. What was your conception of the functions that Dr. Jameson would play; you were aware that he was to remain where he was, according to Mr. Rhodes, even for months, to support you; how was he to support you?—‘Moral support’ were the words used by Mr. Rhodes. I do not wish to convey a wrong impression. In December we contemplated being in possession of these arms and ammunition from the south, and it was contemplated that somewhere towards the end of December, or the beginning of January, we would be able to strike our blow. That whole arrangement was dislocated first by the non-arrival of these arms, and the Boers getting on guard, Kruger made his tortoise-head speech, and all that sort of thing. There was disunion; the Germans in the town were kicking up a row, and we had not got these arms. On the 19th December, I may add, if it is necessary still further to negative the suggestion that Dr. Jameson had a right to come over the border, as he says he had, we sent a message to him, not from Johannesburg direct, but by Cape Town, with a message to be conveyed to him stating in the emphatic terms (we heard he was getting impatient) that he was not to forget he was auxiliary to us; that we were in the major position; and that under no circumstances was he to move until we had notified we were

MR. CHARLES LEONARD'S EVIDENCE.

ready; that our arms were not reaching us; that we were not ready, and that we were the only judges of the time to strike. That was on the 19th December.

7955. You have stated what we were told before as to the letter that was given to Dr. Jameson, that it was rather intended for use in justification afterwards?—Yes. As there has been a great deal talked about the letter, I may say I wrote the letter myself; it was written with the running pen, and it was meant to be a picture of the condition of things which would arise if we struck the blow. It was never intended to mislead anybody, because the intention was that Dr. Jameson should not use the letter until the thing was over.

7956. Then the words as to the women and children being in danger, and so forth, was a picture of what would have happened?—Yes, absolutely. I had no idea of misleading anybody by writing that letter in that form. Of course it was very stupid to give the letter at all, as one sees now, but I want to state now emphatically, that there was not the slightest intention of putting a false thing forward or misleading anybody. The letter has been used subsequently to our discredit, making out that Jameson was to come over the border, at our urgent request, to help the women and children; that impression has gone through England to our detriment.

MR. JOHN ELLIS.

7957. Did I understand you to say, in answer to the Chairman, that when you heard Jameson had gone in, you 'knew he had wrecked everything at once.' Was that what you said?—Yes.

7958. Did you find out at all, at Johannesburg, where the pressure in favour of the British flag came?—No; it appears to have arisen from a misconception; it seems to have been one of the things that started and grew and grew. I believe it originated in some loose remark of Dr. Harris.

7959. You did not attempt to take any steps to get to the root of it in Johannesburg?—We tried to; it was reported to us that it had been stated by Dr. Harris (and of course Dr. Harris was looked on as the *alter ego* of Mr. Rhodes at that time, as he was his private

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

secretary, and all that sort of thing) that the Union Jack would be hoisted, and we felt we would put ourselves not only politically out of sympathy, but morally wrong, with the rest of South Africa if we did such a thing. It was not that we objected to the English flag. I am English, and I would rather have the English flag than any other in the world; but I have no right to put the English flag there because I like it.

7960. There was, I suppose, great division of opinion, and some people took one side and some another?—The Committee that resolved to send me to Cape Town was absolutely unanimous; they were against it, and rightly so. It was not the basis upon which they had gone in; it would put them morally wrong. We felt that supposing after a revolution a new constitution came to be framed, and the majority of the people, including the moderate Boers, were willing to have the British flag, we would be only too happy, but that we had no right to force the flag upon them. England had given the country its own flag, and we had no right to pull it down.

7961. I appreciate your position. I want to know if you got at the bottom of the matter as to where the idea came from?—The idea had come up from Cape Town, conveyed by a gentleman whom I do not think I should name, and we traced it in the telegram sent by us from Cape Town on the Saturday; I think the misapprehension arose through Dr. Harris.

7962. It was necessary, at all events, to send two gentlemen down to Cape Town to clear the matter up, of whom you were one?—I was one.

7963. Can you give us the precise terms of that telegram which you sent which did clear it up or attempt to clear it up; can you repeat us the words?—I will give them as near as I can from memory only.

7964. Of course you can only speak from memory?—I think it commenced: 'Satisfactory assurances given by Rhodes. New departure, however, is necessary. Misunderstanding originated with Harris,' or rather, I think, that came before the former sentence, 'New departure is necessary,' 'continue your prepara-

MR. CHARLES LEONARD'S EVIDENCE.

tions, but quietly and without any sort of hurry; Jameson advised accordingly.'

7965. I gather that Mr. Rhodes sent for you on Monday, the 30th, and suggested that you could be of great help to him; in what sense could you help Mr. Rhodes, the Prime Minister of Cape Colony then, on the Monday?—I had a number of friends at Cape Town, very influential friends, amongst the leaders of the Dutch party. The Dutch newspapers and the other newspapers had to be influenced. I also had interviews with Sir Hercules Robinson on the subject. I eventually tried to get Mr. Hofmeyr to go to Johannesburg, and he promised me virtually to do so, and then withdrew from that promise. I considered that if the forward Dutch party in Cape Colony would bring their pressure to bear upon Kruger's Government we could get a broad settlement of the grievance, and settle the thing at once, so that we could settle down hereafter as members of the group of the South African family. I thought that was necessary at that time; at all events, that is the way I endeavoured to help Mr. Rhodes.

7966. With regard to that, do you assent to the words Mr. Phillips used when he said they assured the Boer representatives that 'Jameson was one with us;' do you assent to those words 'one with us?'—I was not there when that happened, but I can understand what Mr. Phillips had in his mind; it was a generous impulse. He did not know what the circumstances were which led Dr. Jameson to cross the border. I gathered from his evidence that he thought Dr. Jameson might have got false information, and it was a generous impulse on his part to stand by a man with whom we had been in negotiation.

7967. When you were in Cape Town seeing Mr. Hofmeyr, and others, did you represent that Dr. Jameson was 'one with us?'—No.

7968. Did you repudiate Jameson?—No, I did not repudiate him; I did not feel free to say anything about Dr. Jameson at that stage. I gave them the assurance that we never had any design on the independence of the Transvaal.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

7969. Am I to take it that Mr. Rhodes' idea that you could help him on the Monday was based rather upon your supposed influence with the Boers or the Dutch element at Cape Town?—Very largely.

7970. As a kind of go-between?—I was trusted by a lot of the Dutch, and had many friends among the Dutch people.

7971. You have never since returned to Johannesburg?—No.

7972. You have given us the reason. Have you property still at Johannesburg?—Yes, I have property under attachment there to-day.

7973. What does that mean?—It is interdicted. An injunction has been granted by the court restraining me from using or parting with that property; it is tied up so far as I am concerned.

7974. Why is that?—On the ground that I am charged with high treason.

7975. You have not been tried as the others were?—I have not been tried. I would like to explain what happened. When I got back to Cape Town I was broken down. I could see the wreck of everything, and for many days I was very ill; in fact, I was kept quiet by constant administration of morphia. I intended to go back to the Transvaal the moment I should be fit to travel. I never dreamt of coming to England at that time, until after Mr. Rhodes left Cape Colony. He came down on the morning of the 15th from Kimberley, and I had drafted him a letter that morning in which I said, 'You have been absent and I have been very ill; I am going back to stand my trial with my friends, but I want' so-and-so. Before that letter could reach Mr. Rhodes he had sailed for England that afternoon. The next day I got a collection of the news, and I saw the position taken up by the press, and this was the general spirit of it: that the Johannesburg men were a lot of cowards, and this was a dirty stock-jobbing transaction; that the Cape politicians were raging against us, they were all crawling on their stomachs to the Boers; the Governor had been bowed out of the country after the redress of grievances or the consideration of grievances was practically understood to

MR. CHARLES LEONARD'S EVIDENCE.

have been promised ; and Jameson was defending himself on that letter, and the whole world was against us. When I saw that that was the position of things, I then, for the first time, contemplated coming to England, but not before the 16th or 17th of January. I said : ' Good Heavens, I am the only man free who knows these facts, and every engine of calumny and misrepresentation is being used against us ; I am going to England as the one solitary man free (I can come back and go to gaol afterwards) to try to represent my friends' case.' That is what brought me to England.

7976. I put the question because I want to understand your position here. Are you contemplating returning to the Transvaal?—I do not see why I should go back now.

7977. Then for you personally, do these economical and political grievances exist?—To me, individually, to-day, do you mean ?

7978. Yes.—They are not affecting me to-day.

7979. And if you do not return to the Transvaal they are not likely to?—They are not likely to ; but they are likely to affect the country generally, which is my native country, and which I love.

7980. Then do you come before us in any representative capacity at this moment?—I am in touch with the whole of the reform leaders who were in gaol.

7981. Perhaps you do not understand my question. Have you been selected or appointed in any formal or official manner to come before this Committee?—Oh, no ; but I think it is generally expected by the Johannesburg men that I should state their case for them.

7982. Yes ; but you have no representative capacity?—I have no power of attorney from them.

7983. You have no representative character?—No.

Mr. John Ellis.] I do not ask this witness as to political or economical grievances, because I do not hold it to be within the purview of this Committee ; they are under the *ægis* of Her Majesty's Government, the Colonial Secretary particu-

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

larly, who, as I understand, is dealing with the matter with the Transvaal Government.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON.

7984. Do I rightly understand you to say that it was in October, 1895, that you came to the conclusion that you would resort to physical force for the redress of the grievances?—When it was finally concluded—I mean to say, when I made up my mind definitely, and went into any definite scheme for the purpose.

7985. That is what I mean?—I think in August, 1895, I had seen Mr. Rhodes quite casually in Cape Town, and we had had a talk about the general condition of things there, but nothing definite had been agreed upon then. In August, 1895, the Franchise Petition, which had been signed by 38,500 men, was rejected, and it was only upon the final rejection of that petition that I was satisfied that all hope had fled.

7986. It was substantially in the summer, or early autumn of 1895, when you came to that conclusion?—Yes; it is not autumn out there.

7987. You mentioned the franchise as being a grievance. May I ask if you yourself would be prepared, assuming the franchise had been a possibility for you, to have relinquished your position as a British citizen and to become a citizen of the Transvaal?—Certainly, if I intended to live in the country. I may state frankly here, to clear up what has been a misconception, that the National Union, the men who signed the petition, tendered an oath of allegiance. Supposing the franchise had been put upon a reasonable basis, put back to the condition in which it was when we went there, and the men had refused to take that oath, they would have had no grievance, they could not expect to get the rights of citizens unless they took the obligations. We were perfectly honest ourselves to the Government about that.

7988. They understood, and you understood, that, by accepting the franchise in the Transvaal, you would lose your position as British citizens?—Yes.

MR. CHARLES LEONARD'S EVIDENCE.

MR. BLAKE.

7989. I should like to ask you to tell me, as nearly as you can, what were the statements made by Mr. Rhodes to you at this interview, which made you say that a new departure would be necessary?—The statements on that point came more from us. We pointed out to him that the very first essential of success was the nucleus of arms and ammunition which had been agreed to be supplied to us; we pointed out to him that we had the greatest difficulty in organizing things, that there were spies and police even in our clubs and everywhere, and that we did not know where these arms were; we said that we could not possibly go on in this condition, and then this arrangement was made.

7990. Then the statement that a new departure would be necessary had regard solely to the arrangements by which the munitions of war might be more effectually provided and placed under your control?—Partly that, because it is conveyed in the succeeding part, 'Continue your preparations.'

7991. You say now that it had regard partly to that. To what else had it regard?—I must say frankly, without saying that this was a compact with Mr. Rhodes, that I personally had at that time come to think, and was satisfied, that we should do much better thereafter in getting 20,000 rifles, and doing the business ourselves, rather than having anything to do with a force coming over the border; that politically it would be an absolute mistake, and it has been proved so. I have a strong conviction on the point, and I certainly intended, as the thing had broken off then so far, for my part to try to obviate Dr. Jameson coming over the border, rather stopping, as Mr. Rhodes had put it, at moral support on the border.

7992. Your plan, then, in your own mind, and what you intended to propose to your friends, if you had been fortunate enough to return to Johannesburg instead of being obliged to remain at Cape Town, was, that you should dispense with anything more than moral support on the part of Dr. Jameson's forces?—That was in my own mind, but it was not communicated to the Johannesburg people.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

7993. Now, an impression had been conveyed to you and to your friends which necessitated your going down, and you stated that impression to Mr. Rhodes, no doubt, in order to come to an understanding about it?—Clearly.

7994. The impression I mean as to the British flag?—Yes.

7995. He removed that misconception?—Yes.

7996. I want to know what he said on that subject?—He was very short. He said: ‘I have never changed in the basis of the compact I made with you.’ I cannot remember the exact words, but that is the sense of it, which led to our telegraphing that satisfactory assurances had been given.

7997. You referred to the original basis of the compact as being unchanged?—Yes.

7998. Can you state what the original basis of the compact was?—The basis of the compact was that Mr. Rhodes should assist us. Originally I think as many as 1200 men were to be on the border. That watered down until finally, just before Dr. Jameson came over the border, I think it was 750. We were to rise in revolt, seize the Pretoria arsenal and the ammunition from there, retire on Johannesburg and hold the place, and Mr. Rhodes told me that the High Commissioner would come up from Cape Town to mediate.

MR. ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

7999. At Pretoria?—Yes, at Pretoria.

MR. BLAKE.

8000. With himself?—Yes; I think he said he would come up too.

8001. That has been given in evidence?—Yes.

8002. The two would come up to mediate?—Yes.

8003. But that basis leaves untouched, as the subject of explicit statement, what the nature of your revolt was going to be; whether the revolt was to be one for annexation, and so forth?—No; I thought I had tried to make that clear. The document that I have put in speaks about the maintenance of the Republic. That document was approved by Mr. Rhodes, and I

can speak to his very words, in his own library, when he put his hands upon the words about free trade he said : ' That is all I want.'

8004. So far as I could gather from Mr. Rhodes' statement of what occurred on this occasion, when the misconceptions were being removed ; you will not take it from me as accurate ; perhaps you remember his evidence better than I do ?—No ; I have not seen it for some time.

8005. Neither have I. He stated that there must be a plebiscite of the whole population, which, of course, included the Uitlanders, who were in the majority ?—Yes.

8006. And that it would be for that plebiscite to decide what form of development should take place, and he suggested two political ideas ; one that they might decide to negotiate with the other states, political organizations, in South Africa for the purpose of a South African incorporation ?—Yes.

Mr. Attorney-General.] A South African Federation.

MR. BLAKE.

8007. Pardon me ; and the other idea was that they might decide for a federation for certain purposes ; for example, customs and railways ?—Yes.

8008. I think those were the main ingredients, customs and railways, in which case the federal entity would be, of course, as he put it, under the British flag, while the different states in their provincial or other capacity would retain their autonomy ?—We did discuss that. I remember talking with Mr. Rhodes, and it was discussed as a possible outcome of things.

8009. Those were the two main ingredients ?—Yes ; but on going into the thing, that document contains the statement that we wanted free trade between the Colonies and the States of South Africa, in all the products thereof, and that was the one fundamental thing he wanted, and it is the one fundamental thing that was the basis of federation.

8010. I want to get your recollection of the conversation of which we have already had his, and I do not think I have misrepresented him in the statement that I have made, that there were

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

two plans that projected themselves before his mind as the result of the plebiscite; one incorporation, and the other federal union; the federal union being for the limited purposes that I have referred to. I want to know whether that is your recollection of the conversation?—My recollection of the matter was that there should be a plebiscite first of all, altering the constitution entirely, and putting it on a broad democratic basis, with the hope that the outcome of the thing would be a virtual federation in the sense of the customs union, and railway policy with pooling arrangements, and possibly a common court of appeal, and other things.

8011. Then as to the basis of the expression of the popular will that was to decide the destinies of the community, that was to be practically a plebiscite of the adult male population?—Yes.

8012. Including the Uitlanders?—Yes.

8013. Which means that the destiny was to be in their hands if they chose to stick together?—I do not think necessarily. I for one would not have been opposed to the Boer retaining more than his just share of the thing.

8014. I do not say what they would have done; I meant that the power would have been in their hands?—Not necessarily then; it depends upon how they were going to appoint the delegates. I take it that the plebiscite were to appoint delegates to frame a new constitution.

8015. But the voting power to nominate delegates to frame the new constitution was enormously in the Uitlanders?—It was two to one in the male population; but it does not follow that it would be two to one in representation. There was no desire to treat the Boer unfairly in that matter.

MR. LABOUCHERE.

8016. You said that you were down at Cape Town after this interview with Mr. Rhodes?—Yes.

8017. And after the raid?—Yes.

8018. A warrant was issued against you, was it not?—Not that I knew at the time; subsequently.

MR. CHARLES LEONARD'S EVIDENCE.

8019. You knew subsequently that a warrant was issued against you?—Not at the time that I was at Cape Town.

8020. A warrant was issued against you?—No, I do not think so.

8021. Do you deny it?—My knowledge is derived from the Cape Blue Book. My recollection of the thing is that three days after I had sailed from Cape Town an application was made by the State Attorney of the Transvaal for a warrant, which, of course, even if I had been there, was a ridiculous thing, because I was not liable to arrest in Cape Town.

8022. Then you deny, so far as your knowledge goes, that a warrant was submitted to the State authorities to be used against you by the Transvaal before you went?—Absolutely ; I never heard of it before.

8023. You never heard of it before?—No, I never heard of any warrant at all being applied for. I heard of an extradition being applied for, three days after I left Cape Town ; that I gathered from the Blue Book.

8024. There were two other gentlemen with you ; what were their names, do you remember them?—Do you mean Mr. Bettelheim and Mr. Joel ? They were not with me ; they had joined the Reform party after I had left Johannesburg. I was the leader of the National Union ; I never was the chairman of the Reform Committee, because I was not there.

8025. They were brought back under arrest?—No, they were not brought back under arrest ; they were arrested, and I believe they agreed to go.

8026. Was there any communication between you and Mr. Esselin on the subject?—Yes.

8027. Would you state the nature of it ? Mr. Esselin was, I think, ex-Attorney-General of the Transvaal?—I have stated that up to the 16th or 17th January it was my firm intention to return to the Transvaal.

8028. I am asking about Mr. Esselin?—But I wanted to say that in absolute sincerity, in pursuance of that intention, I had telegraphed. The fact was, as I have told you, I was lying down

ill there and a telegram came to me: 'Where is Leonard; will he come up?' and, in a fit of pique, I said to my wife, 'Telegraph to Mr. Esselin to make it public I am coming up,' and I telegraphed to my own partner in the same sense. That was the only meaning of it; I really wanted more to let my friends know I was coming up, and I believe I added afterwards, as an afterthought, 'and to the authorities of the Republic,' or something of that sort. I cannot remember the date, but it was long before I made up my mind to go. You have evidently got the telegram with you; I have not.

8029. I have it somewhere here, but there was this telegram?—Yes.

8030. To Mr. Esselin?—Yes.

8031. From Mrs. Leonard or from you, to say that you were coming?—Yes, I adopt the responsibility.

8032. Subsequently you wrote letters to Mr. Esselin, did you not?—I subsequently wrote to him. When this startling combination of things made me decide that my duty to my own friends was to come to England, I wrote to him and said: 'I regret that circumstances have changed' (I have not a copy of the letter), 'and that I cannot come to the Transvaal at the present moment.'

8033. Was it borne in upon you that Mr. Esselin had somewhat complained of your having compromised him with the Government?—Yes, afterwards; it was not present to my mind then. Perhaps you will allow me to explain what was in my mind. I looked upon myself as an absolutely free agent at the Cape. I maintain to-day, sitting here as a lawyer, that I am as free in the Cape as I am in England; that it was a purely voluntary act, an act that could not be compelled in any way by the Kruger Government, that I should go to the Transvaal; that I merely announced my intention of going back as a voluntary act, and that I was perfectly free to alter that intention; in other words, that the Transvaal Government was not prejudiced in any way by it. That was the aspect in my mind at the time. When I decided to come to England that was the impression on my mind. In England, in March, shortly after I arrived here, Mr. Hamilton

MR. CHARLES LEONARD'S EVIDENCE.

saw me, and he told me that I had prejudiced Mr. Esselin ; I said, ' Well, it is a mere matter of sentiment.' As a matter of fact, I regret very much that I should ever have used Mr. Esselin as a medium of making a statement voluntarily like this ; and I wrote to him accordingly a fresh statement, and asked him to make it known. I said : ' You can use my letter as you like.' I wanted to clear up the point in my own mind that by communicating to Mr. Esselin, this was borne in upon me in March, I might have suggested some implication with my own affairs in Johannesburg, and that was the reason why I regretted sending him the telegram.

8034. Are you aware, as a matter of fact, Mr. Esselin did communicate with the Transvaal Government ?—No.

8035. You are not aware of that ?—No.

8036. You never were aware ?—No.

8037. And you never were aware that a warrant was issued against you ?—Against me ?

8038. Yes.—There is a warrant issued in the *Gazette*, and I have got a copy of it in my pocket. It is just as well to put it in, I think.

8039. No, no !—Yes, I would like to put it in, if I may ; it will show what it was. This was sent to me by one of my friends in Johannesburg ; it is the State Gazette, *Staatscourant*, which says : ' There is reasonable ground to believe that Charles Leonard has committed the offence of sedition, or high treason ' That is their warrant running in their gazette.

8040. There is this distinction, is there not, between the Extradition Treaty between Great Britain and the Continental States and the Extradition Treaty between the Cape Colony and the Transvaal, that persons guilty of political disturbances may be extradited ?—No.

8041. Not ?—No ; there is no extradition at the Cape Colony for a political offence ; absolutely none. That is the whole point of the thing.

8042. Then I understand from you that you have no knowledge that the Cape Government did actually act upon this

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

warrant, and sought to give effect to it?—I have this knowledge, that the Cape Attorney-General prostituted his office, and telegraphed to Spain and Portugal, and asked them to arrest me at the instance of a third nation, when the original request to him was utterly invalid.

8043. That was the Cape Attorney-General?—Yes.

8044. Then I understand that the Cape Attorney-General and you do not entertain quite the same views as to the scope of the Extradition Treaty?—I am absolutely convinced in my own mind of the real scope of the Extradition Treaty; it was the one word ‘violent,’ and I had been guilty of no violent action.

MR. SECRETARY CHAMBERLAIN.

8045. Who was the Cape Attorney-General to whom you refer?—Sir Thomas Upington.

MR. LABOUCHERE.

8046. You started from the Cape with this intention to go back?—You mean to go back to Johannesburg? Yes.

8047. And I think you have already told us that you got out at some station?—Yes.

8048. And you somehow came to England?—No, I came to England by steamship.

8049. From what port?—In the *Guelph*.

8050. From what port?—From Cape Town.

8051. Then you came to England because you had come to the conclusion that it would be more desirable, in the interests of the Transvaal, that you should not surrender yourself to justice?—I did not consider the interests of the Transvaal at all; I considered the interests of my comrades who were in gaol.

8052. I will say, more to the interests of your comrades who were in gaol, that you should not join them and be put on your trial, but that you should come back to England a free man?—Yes.

8053. In order that you might represent their case in England?—Yes.

MR. CHARLES LEONARD'S EVIDENCE.

8054. That I gather?—Yes.

8055. When you came to England did you represent their case?—Yes.

8056. Where?—Privately and publicly. I wrote an article in the *New Review* in March over my name. I wrote an article in an American newspaper, which was very widely commented on, and I venture to think had some slight influence in moulding public opinion. I, in season and out of season, did this. I may add that I got nothing, no communication at all, except letter after letter from these men in Johannesburg. 'For goodness' sake stop free and help us to fight our case.' I looked upon it as a mandate that I was their only representative, and fought for them here.

8057. You came here before the mandate was issued?—Yes, I came here before the mandate was issued, and they have ratified it.

8058. Do you remember an article in the *Cape Times* at that time?—Yes; at least when I say 'yes'—

8059. Strongly against you?—On what?

8060. On your not going back to Johannesburg?—I have suffered a great deal of abuse because I have held my tongue over this thing, but the *Cape Times* absolutely went and published a vile slander that I had left Cape Colony in pursuance of a base compact with Kruger, that I should come to England and denounce Rhodes, the benefit of doing so coming to me. A baser lie never was published.

8061. I think you are a solicitor, are you not?—Yes.

8062. I think you state in this document that you have been good enough to put in, that you were making £10,000 per annum as a solicitor?—Yes, approximately that; sometimes more, sometimes less.

8063. No doubt you are a very able, but still you are a youngish man?—I am going on to 43.

8064. How long have you been in business as a solicitor in the Transvaal?—I have been in the Transvaal nine years, and was practising in the Cape Colony seven or eight years before that.

8065. But still, I am in the presence of legal gentlemen,

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

taking the average of solicitors here, a solicitor who makes £10,000 a year does a very fair and good business for himself?—Yes, it involves a good deal of work.

8066. So that you yourself were comfortably off?—Yes, of course I was.

8067. What taxes now did you pay personally?—I personally do not know what taxes I paid, to be perfectly frank; it was not a question of taxes with me; it did not matter to me £500 a year more or less; it was not a question of what I paid. I could not tell you really what I paid.

8068. I am not attacking you, but I am taking you as a test example of a gentleman who was making what would be considered here, if not there, a very large income. Did you pay income tax?—There is no income tax.

8069. Did you pay house tax?—Yes, there is a house tax.

8070. What is the house tax?—I do not know; 2*d.* or 3*d.* I think on the rateable value.

8071. Is there any succession duty?—Yes.

8072. What is the succession duty?—I think it is one per cent. for direct descendants, and increases up to ten per cent., something like that. I am not quite sure of the details.

8073. And you really as a matter of fact only paid, I presume, beyond this house tax, the indirect taxes?—The indirect taxes.

8074. Customs duties, and such things?—Yes.

8075. So that you were not prejudiced?—I was taxed in the same proportion as the rest of the community. I was part of the class. I wish to make it quite clear that personally I did not mind or grudge any contribution to the Government being made out of my own pocket; but I belonged to, and represented, the class paying nine-tenths, at least, of the total revenue of the country, and we felt that the total taxation taken from us was absolutely unjustifiable, because it was far beyond the real legitimate requirements of government.

8076. But I am taking you as a case of a gentleman making a large income there, and I ask you, what did you pay?—I cannot tell you what I paid. I want to defeat this miserable suggestion

MR. CHARLES LEONARD'S EVIDENCE.

or doubt that might be in your mind, not to defeat it, but to clear it up, that I went into this thing.

8077. No, I am not asking you on that. I think the Committee understand that I am asking you as a test case of what a gentleman making a large income pays. As I understand, you pay no income tax; there is a small house tax, and the only other tax — ?—There were crowds of other taxes. I paid about £80 a year for the privilege of practising my profession; that is one of them. I do not remember the details of the taxation.

8078. Because they were so small ?—No, not so small. Personally, I dare say, I contributed individually £150 a year, or something of that kind.

8079. In taxes ?—Yes.

8080. On £10,000 a year ?—No, it would have been the same if I had been making £500 a year.

8081. Still, as a matter of fact, you did make £10,000 a year, and on this £10,000 a year you contributed, I think you said, £150 ?—I cannot tell you exactly what it was; but I say approximately something like that.

8082. Then I can only say we should think you here a very fortunate man.—That is not the question, though.

8083. Now your other solicitors there were concerned in this movement ?—Yes.

8084. And they remained ?—Yes.

8085. And continued their business ?—I presume so.

8086. If you had gone back there and been tried and paid the fine, you would have been able to continue your business just as they did ?—Yes.

8087. I suppose you regret that you are not able to do that ?—No, I have a deep-seated sense of wrong. I say that the oligarchy in Pretoria with our Hollander friends drove me into revolt. Fate put me outside of their hands, and as I am here and have been asked to stop here and fight the thing out, I do not see why I should voluntarily go back there; and I say further that I do not consider, as an Englishman, or a man with English sentiments, I could live in that country to-day.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

8088. Then you think that all your friends who were fined and who did remain there are not men of English sentiment?—No ; a great many of them have left, but a great many may be so tied by circumstances that they cannot. There are many of those men who are absolutely dependent upon their professional earnings for a living.

8089. But those who are not absolutely dependent upon their professional earnings have not the feelings of Englishmen?—Oh, no ; there is Mr. Bell and Mr. Mullins ; it comes to my memory that they broke up their business and left the country absolutely.

8090. Some have remained?—Yes ; some have remained.

8091. And they are the men who, if they have any other means, have not the feelings of Englishmen in remaining?—I will not say that.

8092. You have said so?—I would not say that ; I said that I myself felt that sense of indignity.

8093. Then who authorises you to represent them here?—I have never said that anybody authorised me to represent them here. I feel that I have a right to state the case, because I was concerned in this movement ; but as a matter of fact, all my old friends who were on the Reform Committee, and who are in London now, have been in constant communication with me, and I have been told by letter from Johannesburg that they look to me to put the case. But I speak apart from any mandate.

8094. You put it to the Committee that these gentlemen look to you to put the case?—Yes.

8095. I think you are an Afrikaner?—I am. I am the second generation of my people born in South Africa.

8096. And you would be perfectly prepared to take this oath of allegiance?—I considered that I had absolutely no right to quarrel with the constitution.

8097. I do not think you had ; but you were perfectly ready in order to acquire the Boer nationality to renounce your British nationality?—If I had made up my mind to live in the country

MR. CHARLES LEONARD'S EVIDENCE.

and wanted the rights of a citizen, then I was bound to take the obligations.

8098. I agree with you entirely. Then you consider that no man ought to have a vote who is not prepared to take that oath of allegiance?—Certainly. I think the oath is very offensive in its terms ; but that is not the question.

8099. Never mind that ; do you put it that the vast majority of Uitlanders of English race are prepared to take that oath and renounce their allegiance in order to get the franchise?—No, I would not like to make that statement absolutely. I think there are a very large number of men who would not, but I think there are a very large number of men who would. You see it is simply taking an oath to yourselves ; that is what it would be ; the State would be constituted mostly of themselves. But in the present terms of the oath, with its offensive renunciation of English allegiance, I think there would have been a good deal of difficulty about it.

8100. You are aware (whether they renounce or not), from the fact of taking the oath of allegiance to the Transvaal, they do renounce?—Clearly.

8101. This is the oath, is it not : ‘ I, _____ until now
 _____ (I suppose an Englishman), ‘ born _____,
 desiring to become a burgher of the South African Republic, and
 having complied with all the conditions of the law concerning
 naturalisation, hereby renounce, abjure, and give up all obedience,
 loyalty, and allegiance to all foreign princes, rulers, states, and
 sovereignties ; and in particular, the prince, ruler, state, or
 sovereignty of which I have been until now a subject and
 citizen, and swear as subject the oath of loyalty and obedience
 to the Government and its laws, and the people of the South
 African Republic ? ’—I believe that is the oath ; speaking from
 memory, I should say it is accurate.

8102. I have taken it from the Constitutional Law?—It is a translation, but speaking from memory I should say it is accurate.

8103. You stated a little while ago in your evidence that the great mass of Uitlanders were desirous to get the franchise, and

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

that is what influences them?—I can only go by this: that when 38,500 men solemnly asked for a thing I take it that they want it; but in my own mind I believe it would be found that when men came face to face with the terms of that oath they would have jibbed at it, if I may use the phrase.

8104. When did you say these 30,000 people said that?—In 1895 the petition was signed.

8105. That petition was referred to a committee by the Volksraad, was it not?—Yes.

8106. And they found a great many signatures that were not likely to be in the Transvaal?—That is absolutely a false statement; the greatest care was taken. I do not think that it was found by the committee; I do not think the committee found that as a fact. I think that was a loose statement made by one of our enemies in the Volksraad.

8107. It was stated?—Yes, and they went further and said there were a lot of forgeries.

8108. I think Mr. Gladstone was one name signed to it, William Ewart Gladstone?—There is a Mr. Gladstone in South Africa.

8109. William Ewart Gladstone?—I think his name is William Ewart; I think there is a William Ewart Gladstone. But I do not care whether by mischance or anything else a few thousand out of the 38,000 had even got on to that petition in that way. What we did as the National Union Executive was, to take the greatest possible care that every night the canvassers were called upon to make a declaration as to the genuineness of the signatures brought in.

8110. You sent out canvassers?—Yes.

8111. Where did they go; to the public-houses?—I cannot tell you exactly; they visited the population.

8112. Were they paid canvassers?—I think the canvassers received some small remuneration.

8113. Were they not paid by the number of names that they got?—I do not think so.

8114. You are not certain of it?—I am not certain. Mr.

Carr, the secretary, had the details of it; but I can state absolutely that there was no desire to do anything more than get an honest expression of the people's opinion.

8115. But the mode adopted to get an honest expression of the people's opinion was to send out a quantity of canvassers, and pay them by the returns?—You do not expect men to run about among the population for nothing.

8116. There is another thing I am going to put to you, because I want to put it in, as a good deal has been said about it. You said just now that the Second Volksraad had no sort of power, and was a sham?—In all really vital matters of government, yes.

8117. Then, I will read you this: this is from the 'Law to Establish a National Assembly of Two Chambers, 1890.' This gives what the Second Volksraad may do. Article 27. 'The Second Volksraad shall have the power to further regulate the following subjects if necessary, by way of law or resolution:—(1) The Mining Department. (2) The making and maintaining of waggon and post roads. (3) The Postal Department. (4) The Telegraph and Telephone Department. (5) The protection of discoveries (inventions) patterns and trade marks. (6) Protection of the rights of authors (copyright). (7) The exploitation and care of forests and salt pans. (8) The eradication of infectious and contagious diseases. (9) The conditions, rights, and duties of companies. (10) Insolvencies. (11) Civil Procedure. (12) Criminal Procedure.' All that is within the functions of the Second Volksraad?—They may discuss it like a debating society, yes. The Oxford Debating Society has just as much power.

8118. That is the law?—No; let me tell you what the effect of the law is. None of their deliberations have any force unless confirmed by the First Volksraad to begin with; and the President may even, by simply hanging up, refuse to promulgate their action and nullify the whole thing.

8119. Do I gather from you that the Second Chamber has no power if its laws have to be confirmed by the First Chamber?—Oh, no; what I wish to say is, that there is no analogy between

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

the Second Chamber in this country and the Second Chamber there. Here you have a House of Lords just as in the Cape Colony; there is a Legislative Council which passes Acts of Parliament by what is called the leave of the House; here the House of Commons; there the House of Assembly in Cape Colony.

8120. Then why do you say when they have these powers?—But your Second Chamber here, or what they call in the Transvaal a Second Chamber, deals with everything, including taxation and every vital function of government. That Second Chamber, the Second Volksraad, can never touch the acts of the First Chamber, the First Volksraad, in which the true power resides.

8121. But I am putting to you these specific powers I have given you?—Those specific things they have cognisance of, but we say they do not touch the power of taxation and they do not touch many of the big questions and most vital questions of government.

8122. But they have cognisance of these matters?—Yes, but even with that they can be nullified by the First Volksraad, whereas they have no corresponding cognisance of what the First Volksraad does.

8123. It is precisely the same as in certain other countries where there are two chambers?—Certainly not in second chambers as I know them.

8124. This is an elected Second Chamber, is it not?—Yes, a chamber elected by the same electorate as elects the First Chamber.

8125. Then, so far as I gather your views, it is better than a chamber that is not elected?—My grief is that the elective principle is not carried out in the country.

8126. I agree with you entirely?—

MR. GEORGE WYNDHAM.

8127. In connection with two matters that have just been raised, when was the Second Volksraad constituted with its present powers?—In 1890.

MR. CHARLES LEONARD'S EVIDENCE.

8128. Therefore, it had been in existence four years in October, 1894?—Yes.

8129. Mr. Labouchere has put to you the law of the South African Republic. I should like to put to you a dispatch of the Marquess of Ripon, with which you are doubtless familiar. It is printed in the Blue Book?—I think I have seen it, in which he speaks of the five years franchise.

8130. That is the very point. I will read you the passage: ‘The period of residence, which constitutes the most important condition of naturalisation, differs in different countries, but there is a very general consensus of opinion among civilised states that five years is a sufficiently long period of probation, and Her Majesty’s Government would wish you to press on the Government of the Republic the view that the period in this case should not exceed that limit as regards the right to vote in the First Volksraad, which is the dominant body, and in Presidential elections.’

8131. Do you agree that the First Volksraad is the dominant body?—Absolutely.

8132. And this dispatch was written four years after the Second Volksraad was constituted?—Yes.

8133. And then as to the oath of allegiance, do you agree with this view which was put forward by Lord Ripon: ‘As regards the form of the oath of allegiance, which appears to be founded on that in force in the United States of America, I would observe that whilst Her Majesty’s Government consider that on grounds of comity and good neighbourhood, they may invite the Republic to reconsider its terms, they are not influenced, as some British subjects on the spot have apparently been influenced, by any supposition that a modification of its terms would avert the consequences of expatriation which clearly follow from taking it.’ Do you hold that on grounds of comity and good neighbourhood it would be a good thing to modify the terms of the oath of allegiance?—I think the oath of allegiance is the same whatever its terms, but I think those terms are so needlessly offensive as to frighten or tend to frighten men away.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

8134. Is it the case, as Lord Ripon writes, that 'the form of oath which is desired by the British subjects is usually spoken of as that in force in the Orange Free State;' is it the case that the form of the oath of allegiance of the Orange Free State would be preferred?—Yes, and I think the form of the oath in the Transvaal, up to 1882 at all events, or 1885, was not half as offensive; it was simply a statement that you swore allegiance to the people and the independence of the State. They deliberately allowed the terms of the oath to impart to it that offensive language.

8135. Now, you have given us an account of various interviews between yourself and Mr. Rhodes; do you happen to have any written documents from Mr. Rhodes, or any letter from him, touching upon any of these points?—No public communication.

8136. I do not wish you to go into any private letter?—The only letter that I have from Mr. Rhodes is a private letter.

8137. Would you rather not state what it is?—It is simply a letter in which he says: 'I asked you with Hamilton to stay and help me. You could do no good in a train; you could do great good here. I know you fought for going, but it was nonsense, and too late. Afterwards blame me, but I was thoroughly right.' That is the only letter I have from him.

8138. That letter, I take it, was written after the Monday?—Yes, this letter, I think, was written on the Wednesday night when I was rather bitter about it, everything having gone wrong, and I wished to goodness I was in Johannesburg.

8139. So that in addition to verbal requests, you had written requests from Mr. Rhodes that you would not return to Johannesburg?—Yes.

MR. BLAKE.

8140. I understand that the letter was after the event?—Yes, it was after the event. It is merely evidence of what had passed between us.

MR. GEORGE WYNDHAM.

8141. Quite so, I take it it is corroborative evidence. Now you said that at this last interview, I mean the one at which the plans were discussed, that is Saturday, the 28th, Mr. Rhodes said

MR. CHARLES LEONARD'S EVIDENCE.

that Dr. Jameson could remain upon the border for six months, eight months, or nine months?—Yes, or longer.

8142. Did he ever make any similar statement any earlier to you?—Dr. Jameson, in the first instance, was to be put on the border, and we were to be armed from the south and mature our plans, and then by consent when we were ready we were to notify it to Dr. Jameson and strike a blow simultaneously. That, as frankly as I can put it, was the arrangement.

8143. I should like rather to know how many of these interviews there were; I do not mean the exact number, but you have told us of one in October, 1895?—Yes.

8144. At which I think you said Mr. Lionel Phillips and Mr. Hammond were present?—Yes.

8145. And Colonel Rhodes?—Yes.

8146. Why was Mr. Hammond there?—Mr. Hammond had apparently been taken into confidence. Mr. Hammond was connected with Colonel Rhodes' Goldfields Office in Johannesburg, and Mr. Hammond had apparently discussed the position with him. I do not know how he came there; I only know I met him there.

8147. Mr. Hammond is not an English subject, is he?—No, he is an American.

8148. Therefore do you think that he represented the inhabitants of Johannesburg who were not English subjects?—Absolutely; we were all at one on that point. Mr. Hammond only wanted fair play and fair government. He represented the sentiments of men that only wanted fair play and fair government.

8149. You have given us an account of a very important transaction; that Mr. Rhodes, I think you said, putting his finger upon the manifesto, and, I think you said, on the passage in the manifesto dealing with the customs and free trade, said: 'That is all I want'?—Yes.

8150. Did he do that before these four gentlemen, or was it at another interview?—That took place in his library at Groote Schurr. He was standing with his back to the library in the

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

presence of Mr. Phillips, Colonel Rhodes, Mr. Hammond, and myself. This document was discussed there, and Mr. Rhodes stood up and put his finger on that passage and said: 'That is all I want, free trade.' Remember the Transvaal was taxing the whole of the products.

8151. Mr. Hammond was there?—Mr. Hammond was there.

8152. There was one interview then in October. I understood you to say that you were asked to prepare this manifesto, and I imagine you submitted it later?—It was in the morning of the day in October (the date I cannot recollect) that we had the interview; we were to have another interview in the evening, and in the interim I was to prepare the document. I did prepare the document in the day during the interim, and we met in the evening and the discussion took place.

8153. And that was the stipulation made by Mr. Rhodes?—Yes. As I have said, we did discuss also the possibility of the outcome of the revolution being a settlement of questions like the customs tariffs, the customs union, the railway grievance, and so on, and a common court of appeal.

8154. And the flag was discussed at that interview also?—Oh, the flag; the document itself speaks of the maintenance of the Republic; it is self-contained.

8155. But it was present to your mind that the plebiscite would be all-powerful?—It was present to my mind. I said, I cannot take it any further than that, whatever the outcome. Supposing the Boers had turned out to be the majority, many of them had said to me, 'We would be glad to have the British flag,' I would be only too happy to have the British flag. All I felt was that I had no moral right to raise the British flag.

8156. You used these words: 'I said I could carry it no further'; therefore the subject was discussed?—Yes, we discussed as to what the future might bring forward. I remember perfectly well the broad discussion about the whole thing, about the relation to the neighbouring states of South Africa, and, broadly, we discussed what Mr. Blake has put to me, that the outcome of it might be a form of federation. I was not very much concerned

MR. CHARLES LEONARD'S EVIDENCE.

about the flag in this sense, because I did not want to raise a great dispute about it; I knew it would touch a lot of people, you know, and as long as we got Anglo-Saxon civilisation and the country satisfied, we knew that federation would follow later on, and that if ever it did take place there could be only one flag for it.

8157. There could be only one flag?—Yes. The trouble in South Africa to-day is that the Boer looks for a united South Africa under the Dutch flag and the Dutch Republic, and the Englishman looks for a united South Africa and a Federated Republic under the English flag. (*See* QQ. 8724–5.)

8158. When you say that the Boer looks for a united South Africa under the Dutch flag, has that been publicly stated by any of the leading Dutch politicians?—I could quote the Chief Justice's own speech in 1893. He was a candidate for election, and I quarrelled with him about it. I was supporting him, and he actually made this speech to the Potchefstroom burghers. He said, 'With regard to our flag, I can only advise you to act so that in time it should wave over the whole of South Africa.'

MR. BLAKE.

8159. I think it might be liable to misconstruction. You put a contrast of the Dutch or Boer population wanting a State under the Dutch flag, and a British population wanting one under the British flag; do you mean an independent Dutch flag, or a flag of some continental power?—I think they wanted to spread the Republican flag, first to join the two Republics that exist there, and then to extend themselves, as they put it in the Bloemfontein speech, as burghers of a united South Africa.

MR. GEORGE WYNDHAM.

8160. You refer to the Bloemfontein speech now; you refer to the recent conference this year?—Yes.

8161. And the speech of the Chief Justice was in 1893?—Yes.

8162. The same sentiments had been repeated?—Yes, over and over again; both sides speak of a united South Africa. The

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Englishman contemplates when the united South Africa comes that there will be only one flag over it.

8163. And those sentiments were repeated in Bloemfontein in February last?—Yes.

8164. The question of taxation has been reopened in regard to your own person, and as that has taken place, I should like you to tell us how the taxation presses not upon gentlemen like yourself, making £10,000 a year, but upon the working men of the country?—The necessities of life are taxed out of all proportion to reason. I do not know whether the Committee have the Customs Tariff; I think it is very right they should have it.

8165. I should like the Committee to have it.—There is a mass of information that I have taken the trouble to collate, not a word of which is irrelevant or immaterial.

8166. I think it is much more pertinent to the inquiry than the taxation on your own income of £10,000 a year, and I should like you to give that evidence now?—I should like to put in this ‘Schedule of Customs’ in the Transvaal; you will see how the food-stuffs are taxed.

8167. Can you show us how it bears upon the question I was putting, namely, the incidence of taxation upon the incomes of working men?—Yes; ham, bacon, and all tinned meats are taxed. Ham and bacon are taxed approximately to 1s. a pound; the country does not produce them fit to eat. All imported meats are taxed to the rate of 25s. the 100 lbs.; flour and meal and all sorts, even maize, are taxed at the rate of 15s. a bag, or 7s. 6d. per 100 lbs., with an *ad valorem* duty on all these things of 7½ per cent., not on the cost at the port of departure, but on that cost plus the 20 per cent., which makes it about 9 per cent. *ad valorem* duty on these things plus these special rates. The result of that is really to increase the cost of living to such an extent that the great bulk of the taxation, at least a great part of the taxation, comes out of these customs; and last year the total Succession Duty was £1,350,000, almost enough to govern the country adequately on alone. But they have besides that three

MR. CHARLES LEONARD'S EVIDENCE.

and a half millions of revenue from other sources. Our case is that they could wipe the customs duty away altogether and leave the workman free to have his cheap breakfast table, and still govern the country and have a surplus.

8168. Have the working men of Johannesburg of their own motion ever shown their resentment against this taxation?—Absolutely. They have repeatedly petitioned for a remission of the customs duties, and to this length it had gone, that in November, 1895, a man came to me and asked me what the National Union was going to do, because if we did not move they were going to convene a mass meeting in Johannesburg and have a row.

8169. In November, 1895?—Yes; that was the very thing we apprehended, that there would be a riot, and organized disturbance, and then failure. I pacified him and said, 'What are you distressed about?' and he said, 'Look here, I am a married man; on Sunday I had 2 lbs. of ham for my seven children, my wife, and myself, and some bread and butter.'

CHAIRMAN.

8170. Is it necessary to go into this?—I just want to show you that it was a working man's grievance too, and he said, 'It cost me 2s. 9d. duty before I paid anything.'

MR. GEORGE WYNDHAM.

8171. This was a working man?—Yes.

8172. Do you suppose he had heard that there was going to be a conspiracy?—No, he had heard nothing about it.

8173. He at any rate was not in this stock-jobbing conspiracy?—No.

8174. There is one other thing I should like to ask you. I am not going into the grievances, but into what has been done since. Can you tell us shortly what 'reforms have been carried——?

Mr. John Ellis.] Do you mean since Mr. Leonard left?

Mr. George Wyndham.] I mean since January, 1896.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. John Ellis.] Then he knows it by hearsay.

Witness.] I know the statute that was passed; I have taken it from the statute-book.

MR. JOHN ELLIS.

8175. We can read the statutes for ourselves?—But you never get them.

MR. CRIPPS.

8176. There is one question I want to ask you: I do not want to go into the grievances generally, but you said that in recent years the Transvaal had taken away rights which Uitlanders had before; you recollect making that statement?—Yes.

8177. I just want to ask you to tell me what the rights are to which you refer which have been taken away?—We entered the country, the great bulk of us, in the years 1886, 1887, 1888, and 1889, and a very large proportion of the population had settled there; I went there in 1888; at that time the Transvaal laws permitted admission to full citizenship after five years' residence. In 1890 that right was taken away virtually when the Second Volksraad was established. This sop was thrown to us, this Second Volksraad, and the same Parliament in the same session took the right to acquire the franchise at the end of five years away from us after we had been in the country, and after many of us, not I but many more, had taken the oath of allegiance in the hope of getting the franchise. Our case was practically that there was a breach of faith in legislating away this right after we had become settled in the country. We said in fact that to British subjects there was an unwritten preamble to the whole constitution, and the basis of the constitution was the basis of our lives.

8178. You were talking about rights that had been taken away; were you referring to anything else besides the franchise law?—We got a limitation of the right of public meeting projected upon us; we got our press liberty interfered with; in 1895 we had the direct threat, and an Act afterwards put on the statute-book, of being deported from the country without trial;

we had the whole of the taxation put upon us; we were deprived of education; we were told in a court of law that we must turn our children into Dutchmen if we were to get any privileges granted to them.

8179. Have you told me all the matters now that you refer to under the head of rights taken away—I do not want to go into the general grievances?—But the right of citizenship and the right to equality in the State is the main grievance that we complain of.

8180. I understand that that is your only grievance; but as regards specific matters are there any others than those things to which you have referred?—Our men could not be jurymen and there were these constant attacks upon the independent capacity of the High Court; we have no control or say at all over the taxation or our destiny; we could not have any law we like.

8181. I do not want to go back into this matter again. Except the illustrations you have given, are there any other specific cases of rights being taken away?—Do you mean by interference with the courts, or anything of that sort?

8182.—Like the illustration you gave of the franchise law being altered to your detriment?—The franchise law is the main thing; it goes to the root of everything. We have always looked upon it as the broad point.

MR. WHARTON.

8183. Mr. Phillips told us the other day that the English-speaking children had to become, in fact, as you say, Dutch children or to learn Dutch before they could have any better education in schools supported by the State; I only want to know from you as nearly as you can say what is the number of English-speaking children needing elementary education that come under that category?—It is very difficult to speak exactly, but I should think there are from 12,000 to 15,000 growing up. I saw a statement in the census return, it was a census taken of the town of Johannesburg and a three-mile radius, that there were 6000 and odd children growing up without any education at all. That census was taken last year.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

8184. Six thousand children needing elementary education and deprived of education by that law?—Yes, and for whom no provision is made at all.

(SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN *here took the Chair.*)

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE.

8185. When you referred previously in your evidence to equal rights as regards the English and Dutch languages, you referred especially, I presume, to this question of elementary education?—Yes, there was that; but there is more than that too; there was a great grievance felt that the Dutch language was enforced as a necessary qualification for members of local sanitary committees and the local municipality; a couple of our best members had to resign; they would not have anything to do with the thing; one was disqualified and the other resigned in the early days, before the thing was enforced, because he could not understand the Dutch language. And the cost of litigation to English litigants on either side, through being compelled to use a language which the judge understood less than he did English, and which every barrister understands less than he does English, going through an interpreter, was increased tremendously; that and the education.

8186. And you would suggest the use of bi-lingual books in the elementary schools, and that they should be taught together *pari passu* in the two languages side by side?—We started a voluntary education system which was based on that principle.

8187. Would there be any difficulty as regards English teachers in these schools?—I hear that to comply with this law they are sending now Dutch teachers over to London to get a smattering of English to qualify them to go out and comply with the law.

8188. You went a great deal further than this; but you confirm generally the evidence which has been given with regard to the education question?—Yes.

8189. You made use of an expression in answer to the right

MR. CHARLES LEONARD'S EVIDENCE.

honourable Chairman with regard to this movement in Johannesburg; you said it would fail if it turned into a riot. I should like you to widen that expression a little as regards the word fail; what do you mean by 'fail,'—that you would fail to secure the reforms if there were a riot?—What I meant was that there was discontent, and it took some unorganized form, the men were unarmed, there was no ammunition, and if discontent broke out into disturbance it would simply lead to the last state being worse than the first; the Government would quell the thing. They were unarmed and unorganized; and their case was a legitimate and a good one; and it was best, if the thing was coming to that position, that it should be an organized movement.

8190. You mean the Committee to infer then that in that case the Boers would immediately put it down by armed force, and there would have been a disturbance ending, not only in failure as regards the movement itself, but in the actual result of it with regard to reform of grievances?—Yes.

8191. But I presume that you and your coadjutors intended if possible to promote this movement of reforming the grievances without bloodshed?—Our whole idea in wanting to arm ourselves at Pretoria and depriving the Boers of artillery, was to limit the possibility of bloodshed, to put ourselves on a more level footing with them, and to deprive them of the power of offence from a distance.

8192. And with regard to Dr. Jameson and his force, you were of course most anxious to secure an identity of operation, so that in the event of the movement being commenced on your part, he would be present there with his force to make assurance doubly sure, and to secure your object?—It was arranged that whatever date should be absolutely fixed by us, and communicated to Dr. Jameson, should be the date on which we started our operations in Johannesburg, and that Dr. Jameson should start from the border at the same time.

8193. You mentioned also in your evidence a little while ago that even some among the Dutch population would welcome the change; did you mean with reference to a reform of the franchise and other matters?—Yes; certainly.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

8194. What kind of percentage of the Dutch would it be; was it a large movement in Johannesburg; were there a great number of the Dutch population who were supporters?—There was a great number of the Dutch population who were utterly dissatisfied with the mal-administration in Pretoria by giving concessions which gave to foreigners profits which, if they were exacted from the public at all, should have gone into the Treasury. And there were constant memorials every year to the Government and to the Volksraad opposing further grants of these monopolies and opposing abuses. There had been a genuine movement for reform among many of the Dutch people, and we looked to that really to support us; at least, we hoped there would be less ground for friction between us.

(MR. CHARLES LEONARD *recalled*.)

CHAIRMAN (the Right Hon. W. L. JACKSON).

8723. You desire, I understand, to make a correction or alteration in answer to Question 8157 of your evidence?—Yes.

8724. The words referred to read at present thus: ‘And the Englishman looks for a United South Africa, and a Federated Republic under the English flag’?—Yes.

8725. You think that those words do not convey the meaning that you wished to convey to the Committee?—I am quite clear I never meant to convey that the Englishman wanted a Republic in South Africa at all. I would like the words ‘and a Federated Republic’ struck out.

8726. That is all, I understand?—Yes.

PAPER

Handed in by Mr. Charles Leonard,

May 18th, 1897.

MANIFESTO.

WE, the unenfranchised inhabitants of the South African Republic (Transvaal), publish this Manifesto and appeal to the civilised world, and specially to the inhabitants of South Africa, on the grounds following:—

1. We constitute the great majority of the white inhabitants of the Republic.
2. We own, by purchase, more than half of the land in the Republic.
3. We are the sole owners of the mines, town, properties, merchandise, and machinery; in short, the property and possessions of the Boers are insignificant in value compared to our property.
4. We contribute five-sixths of the total revenue of the State, and have by our industry and capital raised it from a condition of bankruptcy to a position in which the annual revenue is over £2,000,000, while there is a surplus in the Treasury of over £1,000,000.
5. Our interests in the State are diverse and complex in character, and trained intelligence is necessary to the making of laws for the regulation of those interests. All political power is vested in the hands of uneducated farmers, and it is impossible that legislators chosen, as they are, entirely from this class, can govern our affairs satisfactorily and with an even hand. It is in the nature

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

of things impossible, and experience has demonstrated its impossibility.

6. In addition to the broad principle mentioned in the last clause, there exists, by a chain of circumstances, a virtual oligarchy, which, itself entirely hostile to us, is unduly influenced by external forces, chiefly, if not entirely, Hollander, foreign and inimical to the serious and best interests of the country which we have made our home.
7. The status of the High Court, hitherto our only bulwark against oppression, is entirely unsatisfactory, and its independence, jurisdiction, and dignity are constantly being threatened and attacked, while jury trial is shorn of much of its value because jurors are drawn only from the ranks of the enfranchised.
8. Our railways are in the hands of a corporation, domiciled in Holland, which is paralysing our commerce, and, in conjunction with the general policy of the Government, bringing about a condition of things fraught with the gravest danger to the independence of the Republic.
9. The administration is in many cases thoroughly corrupt, and there is no hope of reform.
10. The granting of monopolies is a curse and a grievous burden, the weight of which falls directly and almost entirely on the unenfranchised. Reference need only be made to the dynamite monopoly, which is now drawing half a million per annum out of the pockets of the gold-producers (an ever-increasing burden) and putting it into the coffers of a body of foreign speculators.
11. Taxation is unfairly distributed, and the necessities of life, both the products of South Africa and other countries, which cannot be produced at all or in sufficient quantities, are made so dear as seriously to hamper the public, and especially to retard the progress of the working classes.
12. Fresh taxation is continuously being imposed, and in such a manner as to affect the unenfranchised only, notwithstanding the fact that there exists a large and

CAPE TOWN MANIFESTO.

increasing surplus, which should justify the reduction of taxation.

13. There is no efficient control or account of the expenditure of public money.
14. The Government is despotic in the highest degree, and the Volksraad exists only to give formal effect to the will of an oligarchy.

Our liberties are not safe. In the past few years Acts have been passed intended to curtail the liberty of the press and the right of public meeting, Acts aimed distinctly at the Uitlanders only, while during the recent session of the Volksraad a resolution was passed authorising the Government to bring in a bill to amend the law relating to sedition, the object being to make the executive Government, instead of the courts, the judges in alleged cases of sedition, with power to deport men without the ordinary trial.

Surely and insidiously the ordinary safeguards of life, liberty, and property, even as they exist, are being undermined. Freedom has become a travesty, and daily, under cover of her sacred name, deeds are perpetrated which make free men shudder.

15. Local self-government, as we are accustomed to it, is denied to us, with grave consequence to health.
16. We are virtually denied the benefits of education out of the funds we contribute, and but for individual effort our children would grow up in absolute ignorance.
17. The use of the English language, the language of the great majority of people in the State, is forbidden in all official business, even in railway notices.
18. We have had constantly to suffer the greatest insults at the hands of the governing body.
19. We have for years patiently submitted to all these things, and have made honest and persistent endeavours by constitutional means to bring about reform and redress of our grievances, but all hope of succeeding has fled.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

We were told to wait until a new Raad should be elected.

The old Raad, which had rejected a monster petition for the franchise with 'laughter and jeers,' was said not to represent the country. We presented a petition to the new Raad, signed by nearly 40,000 people—twice as many men as the whole body of enfranchised burghers—with the same result. Our very children, born in the Republic, are denied the franchise.

And now, driven to despair of ever getting justice, we have determined to strike for it.

Let it be clear that we have no animosity to the Boer ; that we wish to maintain a republican form of Government, or rather to establish a true Republic, in which our just rights shall be secured to us, while the legitimate rights of the Boer shall be protected ; that, in short, we claim only that place in the political partnership to which we are justly entitled.

We want—

1. Full representation in the Councils of the State in proportion to our numbers and vested interests. Being the majority of the people, we claim to be included in a true government of the people, by the people, for the people.
2. Proper control of public moneys, and true responsibility to the people.
3. Absolute independence of the courts, and the raising of the status of the judges.
4. The possession and control of our railways and public works.
5. The abolition of monopolies.
6. Free trade with the neighbouring States of South Africa in all products thereof.
7. A settled policy, which, while guarding the legitimate interests of the South African Republic zealously, shall foster the goodwill of the other South African States, and strengthen the bonds of commerce and good feeling between us and them.
8. Pure administration.
9. Equal rights for the English and Dutch languages.

CAPE TOWN MANIFESTO.

We, an unarmed and comparatively defenceless people, are taking our lives in our hands to secure what every other community in South Africa enjoys, and without which we should continue to be virtually in a state of civic slavery. We, therefore, claim the sympathy and support of all white peoples of South Africa in the struggle which we feel impelled to make as free men bound to answer to our children for the dearest heritage of man—liberty. For this we fight ; for this we claim the sympathy of the world.

To be issued by National Union. National Union to be reinforced by recruits from moneyed classes first.

SELECT COMMITTEE'S
REPORT.

SELECT COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

THE Select Committee appointed to inquire into the origin and circumstances of the incursion into the South African Republic by an armed force, and into the administration of the British South Africa Company, and to report thereon, and, further, to report what alterations are desirable in the government of the territories under the control of the Company, have agreed to the following Report :—

PART I.

ORIGIN AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE INCURSION INTO THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC OF AN ARMED FORCE.

PRELIMINARY.

Your Committee have heard evidence upon that part of the Reference which directs them 'to inquire into the origin and circumstances of the incursion into the South African Republic by an armed force,' and Part I. of this Report relates to that matter, and not to questions affecting the administration of the British South Africa Company.

At the instance of your Committee, the Secretary of State for the Colonies took steps to secure the attendance of certain witnesses from South Africa.

Applications were received from certain persons interested in the inquiry asking for permission to be represented by counsel. This was granted in the cases of the following parties, viz. :—

The British South Africa Company and its Directors ;

The Right Honourable C. J. Rhodes ;

Dr. Leander Starr Jameson, C.B. ;

Mr. Alfred Beit ;

Mr. Lionel Phillips ; and

Dr. Rutherford Harris.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Council addressed the Committee on behalf of Messrs. Rhodes, Beit, and Harris.

Leave was also granted to the Eastern Telegraph Company to be heard by Counsel on the question of the production of certain telegrams ordered by your Committee.

REPORT OF CAPE COMMITTEE AND PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

At the outset of their inquiry your Committee received in evidence certain papers and documents bearing upon the matter of the reference, and especially the Report and Proceedings of a Select Committee of the House of Assembly of the Cape of Good Hope, appointed 'to inquire into the circumstances, as affecting that Colony, in connection with the preparations for, and carrying out of, the recent armed inroad into the territory of the South African Republic.' The Report and Proceedings of the Cape Committee were presented to the Imperial Parliament in March of the present year.

Other papers of interest affecting the subject which have also been presented are, 'Proceedings in the High Court of Justice, Queen's Bench Division, 1896, Trial at Bar, Regina v. Leander Starr Jameson and others (transcript from the shorthand notes of Messrs. Barnett and Buckler); and the Blue Books, C. 7933, C. 8063, and C. 8423.

Although the Committee of the Cape Parliament had not the opportunity of hearing the evidence of certain important witnesses who have appeared before your Committee, ample evidence was forthcoming to enable them to make such a clear and able Report upon the circumstances attending the armed incursion into the South African Republic that your Committee found themselves in a position to adopt the Report, and hold that, until the contrary was shown, the findings of fact contained therein should be accepted as a fair and accurate account of what had taken place. No adverse criticisms upon such findings have been made by any witness before your Committee, and, moreover, at an early period of his evidence Mr. C. J. Rhodes accepted them in the following words: 'I desire to add that I am willing, generally, to accept the

SELECT COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

finding as to facts contained in the Report of the Committee of the Cape Parliament.'

The findings were important; they were, *inter alia*, as follows:—

Para. 42. 'With regard to the Chartered Company, your Committee find that the principal officials in Cape Town either knew, or were in a position to have known, the existence of this plot. Two at least of the directors, Mr. Beit and the Right Hon. C. J. Rhodes, were, together with the Administrator, Dr. Jameson, and Dr. Harris, the South African Secretary of the Company, active as promoters and moving spirits throughout, and they were from time to time kept informed of the preparations.

'The date of the inroad was fixed weeks beforehand, and the letter of invitation was obtained four weeks before the ostensible date of signature.

'During the month of December the pressure for what was called the "flotation" came either from Pitsani or from Cape Town.

'The whole movement was largely financed and engineered from outside, and in both cases certain directors and officials of the Chartered Company of British South Africa were active throughout.'

Para. 43. 'As regards the Right Hon. C. J. Rhodes, your Committee can come to no other conclusion than that he was thoroughly acquainted with the preparations that led to the inroad. That in his capacity as controller of the three great joint-stock Companies, the British South Africa Company, the De Beers Consolidated Mines, and the Goldfields of South Africa, he directed and controlled the combination which rendered such a proceeding as the Jameson raid possible.'

Para. 44. 'It still remains to consider Mr. Rhodes' position with regard to Dr. Jameson's entry into the South African Republic at the precise time when he did. There is no evidence that Mr. Rhodes ever contemplated that the force at Pitsani camp should at any time invade the Transvaal uninvited. It appears rather to have been intended to support a movement

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

from within. In this connection it is important to refer to the telegrams which passed between the confederates during the last few days of December. On the 25th of that month, after the preparations at Pitsani—which had been made with the approval and concurrence of the Chartered authorities in Cape Town—were apparently complete, some hitch occurred at Johannesburg, the whole nature of which is not clearly shown by the evidence; but an element in which was doubtless a dispute on the question of hoisting the English flag should the revolution prove successful. The result of this hitch was that those interested at Johannesburg determined to stay proceedings, and dispatched Mr. Charles Leonard to Cape Town. He left on the evening of the 25th, and his departure was notified the following day in a telegram from Colonel Rhodes to Charter, Cape Town. A perusal of the messages which were exchanged between Dr. Jameson and Dr. Harris on the 26th, 27th, and 28th December, and with the contents of which your Committee cannot doubt that Mr. Rhodes was fully acquainted, will show that the Chartered authorities in Cape Town were fully impressed, more especially after the arrival of Mr. Leonard, with the advisability of delaying any advance from Pitsani until the Johannesburg confederates were ready. And Dr. Jameson was repeatedly counselled to wait until the arrangements were complete. At the same time there is an absence of any such peremptory command from Mr. Rhodes direct to Dr. Jameson not on any account to take action as might reasonably have been expected from one resolutely determined to do all in his power to prevent a subordinate officer from committing a gross breach of the law.

‘About noon on the morning of the 29th December, Mr. Rhodes became aware that Dr. Jameson had definitely made up his mind to invade the territory of the South African Republic that evening, and after a conference with Mr. Rhodes, a draft telegram to Dr. Jameson was drawn up by Dr. Harris. More than half of that draft, strangely enough, has no reference to the contemplated inroad, and it is not explained by any evidence before your Committee; but the latter part of it contains a

SELECT COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

distinct and peremptory injunction on Dr. Jameson not to carry out his contemplated movement on any account, as "I (Mr. Rhodes) most strongly object to such a course." This message could not be sent on the 29th, because the line had been cut, nor had communication with Mafeking been restored on the morning of the 30th; but by noon on that day the damage had been repaired, and the line was open. The message, however, was never forwarded at all. Upon these facts it would appear that Mr. Rhodes did not direct or approve of Dr. Jameson's entering the territory of the South African Republic at the precise time when he did do so, but your Committee cannot find that that fact relieves Mr. Rhodes from responsibility for the unfortunate occurrences which took place. Even if Dr. Jameson be primarily responsible for the last fatal step, Mr. Rhodes cannot escape the responsibility of a movement which had been arranged, with his concurrence, to take place at the precise time it did, if circumstances had been favourable at Johannesburg.

'Mr. Rhodes never visited Cape Town at all on Monday, nor did he think it right to communicate the fact of the inroad to his colleagues in the Ministry. The only message actually sent from Cape Town to arrest Dr. Jameson's progress after he had started was the one dispatched by the High Commissioner about noon on the 30th December, and the one conveyed through the British agent at Pretoria, both of which were disregarded.'

Para. 45. 'In conclusion, your Committee cannot but express their deep regret that Mr. Rhodes was not present to give to the Committee his own account of the proceedings on which they are instructed to report, the more so as they are reluctantly forced to the conclusion, upon the evidence before them, that the part taken by him in the organization which led to the inroad headed by Dr. Jameson was not consistent with his duty as Prime Minister of the Colony.'

The work of the Cape Committee was rendered incomplete by the absence of important witnesses, who were available to give evidence here, and your Committee were put in a position to

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

prosecute the inquiry beyond the point at which the Committee of the Cape Parliament had been compelled to leave it.

MR. RHODES' EVIDENCE.

It was obvious at the outset of the proceedings that the inquiry of your Committee would be much facilitated by a statement, indicating in clear and unmistakable terms the part Mr. C. J. Rhodes had played in the events which had led up to and culminated in what is known as the 'Jameson Raid.' In the view of the Committee, the findings in the Report of the Cape Committee left no room for doubt that Mr. Rhodes must be treated as a principal, while those who acted with him were only more or less important agents. It was, then, of great moment to discover, by summoning Mr. Rhodes to give evidence, whether he would be prepared to accept the position of principal, and assume responsibility for the proceedings of those who had acted with him or under his instructions.

Your Committee, therefore, at the earliest period of the inquiry called upon Mr. Rhodes to give evidence, and he stated his position in the following terms:—

'From the date of the establishment of the gold industry on a large scale at Johannesburg, much discontent has been caused by the restrictions and impositions placed upon it by the Transvaal Government, by the corrupt administration of that Government, and by the denial of civil rights to the rapidly growing Uitlander population. This discontent has gradually but steadily increased, and a considerable time ago I learnt, from my intercourse with many of the leading persons in Johannesburg, that the position of affairs there had become intolerable. After long efforts, they despaired of obtaining redress by constitutional means, and were resolved to seek by extra-constitutional means such a change in the Government of the South African Republic as should give to the majority of the population, possessing more than half the land, nine-tenths of the wealth, and paying nineteen-twentieths of

SELECT COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

the taxes in the country, a due share in its administration. I sympathised with, and, as one largely interested in the Transvaal, shared in, these grievances; and, further, as a citizen of the Cape Colony, I felt that the persistently unfriendly attitude of the Government of the South African Republic towards the Colony was the great obstacle to common action for practical purposes among the various States of South Africa. Under these circumstances I assisted the movement in Johannesburg with my purse and influence. Further, acting within my rights, in the autumn of 1895 I placed on territory under the administration of the British South Africa Company upon the borders of the Transvaal a body of troops under Dr. Jameson, prepared to act in the Transvaal in certain eventualities. I did not communicate these views to the Board of Directors of the British South Africa Company. With reference to the Jameson Raid, I may state that Dr. Jameson went in without my authority. Having said this, I desire to add that I am willing, generally, to accept the finding as to facts contained in the Report of the Committee of the Cape Parliament. I must admit that in all my actions I was greatly influenced by my belief that the policy of the present Government of the South African Republic was to introduce the influence of another Foreign Power into the already complicated system of South Africa, and thereby render more difficult in the future the closer union of the different States.'

In the course of his oral examination, Mr. Rhodes made it clear that he desired to accept responsibility for the actions of those who had served directly or indirectly under his order.

HISTORICAL SUMMARY.

The evidence given before the Committee establishes the following facts:—

In the years 1893 and 1894, and the early part of 1895, there existed much discontent and disquiet amongst the Uitlanders in

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Johannesburg owing to the grievances which they considered were inflicted upon them by the laws and administration of the South African Republic.

Before the latter half of 1895 there was no general scheme for an armed insurrection for the purpose of overthrowing, by force, the Government at Pretoria.

This is made apparent by the evidence of Mr. L. Phillips and Mr. C. Leonard. The latter expressly states that there were no resources in arms, money, or organization which would have made a revolution possible.

In June, 1895, Mr. Rhodes, with Mr. Beit, formed a plan for organizing the discontent which existed at Johannesburg, providing money and arms for the purpose of an insurrection there, and placing a force under Dr. Jameson on the frontier of the Transvaal to assist and support it. Mr. Beit expressly states that the scheme for assisting an insurrection in Johannesburg, and for an armed invasion in its support by Dr. Jameson, originated with Mr. Rhodes.

Mr. Beit was sent by Mr. Rhodes to make arrangements with certain persons who were leaders of the reform movement in Johannesburg.

It appears from Mr. Beit's evidence that Mr. Rhodes' scheme was not at once adopted at Johannesburg.

It was not till late in October, 1895, that Mr. Rhodes arrived at a definite arrangement with the leaders of the insurrectionary party at Johannesburg as to the proceedings to be taken.

Mr. Phillips and Mr. Leonard had expressed to Mr. Beit their wish to discuss the scheme first with Mr. Rhodes, and this discussion took place in the latter end of October, at an interview in Mr. Rhodes' house, Groote Schuur, between Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Hammond, Colonel Rhodes, and Mr. Leonard. At the interview a manifesto, printed on page xi.* of your Committee's Report, was submitted by Mr. Leonard, and accepted by Mr. Rhodes as embodying the objects to be achieved by the revolution. In order to accomplish these objects a basis of action was agreed upon.

* Page 422 of this volume.

SELECT COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

Mr. Leonard states the basis of action as follows :—

‘The basis of the compact was, that Mr. Rhodes should assist us. Originally, I think, as many as 1200 men were to be on the border. That watered down, until finally, just before Dr. Jameson came over the border, I think it was 750. We were to rise in revolt, seize the Pretoria Arsenal and the ammunition from there, retire on Johannesburg, and hold the place, and Mr. Rhodes told me the High Commissioner would come up from Cape Town to mediate.’

Mr. Rhodes seems also to have assured Mr. Leonard at that time that the Dutch population in Cape Colony ‘would welcome a change.’

As soon as this arrangement had been made, active operations were commenced. Dr. Jameson, who had been previously informed of the intentions of Mr. Rhodes, proceeded to concentrate a force (derived partly from Buluwayo, partly from the Cape, and partly from the former Bechuanaland Police), on the frontier of the Transvaal.

When the plan had been settled in Cape Town, Colonel F. Rhodes was placed at Johannesburg as manager of the Consolidated Goldfields. And thus Mr. Rhodes, through Colonel Rhodes at Johannesburg, and Dr. Jameson at Pitsani, had the principal control of the armed forces who were to accomplish or assist the revolution.

Colonel Rhodes received from Mr. Rhodes an unlimited credit for moneys required for purposes of the revolution. These moneys were drawn upon a ‘New Concessions Account’ in the books of the Chartered Company, and were repaid by Mr. Rhodes some time after the Raid, to the amount of £61,000.

Mr. Rhodes states that this was done to cover the character of the transaction, and that he always intended that they should ultimately be charged to his private account.

Mr. Beit admits that, in a similar way, he gave unlimited credit to Mr. L. Phillips, his partner, which was employed for the purposes of the revolution to the extent of some £200,000.

Mr. Rhodes paid large sums of money to Dr. Wolff, who was

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

employed in organizing stores and stations for Dr. Jameson's forces, and also for arms sent from England by Dr. Rutherford Harris, the Secretary of the Chartered Company at Cape Town, which were the property of the Chartered Company, but were diverted from their avowed destination, Rhodesia, to be used for the insurrection in Johannesburg, and the amount some time after the Raid was repaid by Mr. Rhodes.

The arms supplied to the insurgents at Johannesburg were secretly smuggled into the Transvaal through the instrumentality of the De Beers Company, of which Mr. Rhodes was a principal director.

The details of these operations were arranged between Dr. Jameson at Pitsani or Mafeking, and Colonel Rhodes at Johannesburg; but Dr. Jameson was in constant communication with Mr. Rhodes at Cape Town, personally or otherwise, and the most important communications between Colonel Rhodes and Dr. Jameson passed through the Chartered Company's office at Cape Town, and were known to Mr. Rhodes, who accepts responsibility for what was done.

As soon as the preparations were well advanced, towards the latter end of November 1895, Dr. Jameson, who had been with Mr. Rhodes at Cape Town, went to Johannesburg, and procured a letter signed by Mr. C. Leonard, Colonel Rhodes, Mr. L. Phillips, Mr. J. H. Hammond, and Mr. G. Farrar.

Mr. Leonard has stated that he was very reluctantly a party to giving this letter of invitation to Dr. Jameson, and he has said in effect that it was given to afford a pretext which might justify Dr. Jameson with the Directors of the Chartered Company, and induce the officers and men to join him in the Raid.

This letter was shown to Mr. Rhodes by Dr. Jameson on his return to Cape Town, and upon 20th December, 1895, Mr. Rhodes asked to be supplied with a copy.

Mr. Leonard, Colonel Rhodes, and Mr. Phillips have all distinctly stated that this letter was never intended as an authority to Dr. Jameson to enter the Transvaal unless and until he received a further summons from them; they state that it was

SELECT COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

never intended to be published, but to be used only for the purposes above-mentioned; and when they learnt that Dr. Jameson was intending to start, so far from authorising or inviting him to come in, they used every measure in their power, by telegram and by messenger, to prohibit and prevent the Raid. With the full knowledge of all these circumstances, Dr. Jameson, being convinced that no rising was about to take place at Johannesburg, determined to bring matters to a head, and telegraphed to Mr. Rhodes:—

‘We will make our own flotation with help of letter, which I will publish.’

This letter was also read to the troops before Dr. Jameson started, and was used by him as the ground of his action, both to the Boer Commandant, and to the messenger sent by the High Commissioner to order his return.

Immediately upon the Raid becoming known, this letter, by the orders of Mr. Rhodes, was cabled by Dr. Harris to Miss Shaw for insertion in *The Times* newspaper, with a date filled in which made it appear that it had been sent as an urgent appeal from Johannesburg just before the Raid.

Mr. Rhodes himself relied upon this letter in his telegram to the Chartered Company in London on 3rd January, 1896, as the explanation of Dr. Jameson's invasion. The manner in which this letter was dealt with deserves the strongest condemnation.

During the whole of this period every precaution was taken to conceal from the High Commissioner what was going on under Dr. Jameson at Pitsani.

Sir H. Robinson (now Lord Rosmead), when he heard that the Chartered Company were bringing down troops from Bulawayo to Pitsani, asked Mr. Rhodes why this was being done, and Mr. Rhodes told him it was to protect a railway line, and for economy. Mr. Rhodes suggested a similar excuse to Dr. Jameson in his telegram of the 27th December, 1895, two days before the Raid.

The best record of the proceedings between the end of

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

November and the latter part of December, 1895, is derived from the documents captured at Krugersdorp.

Mr. Beit, who had just returned to the Cape from England, on 20th December, sent a telegram from Cape Town to Mr. L. Phillips urging 'immediate flotation.' And on 21st December Mr. Rhodes telegraphed to Colonel Rhodes to fix the date for the insurrection, so that he might advise Dr. Jameson.

At this time, however, the revolutionary party at Johannesburg hung back, owing to doubts relating to the assurances which had been given by Mr. Rhodes that on the day of the insurrection he and the High Commissioner would leave for Johannesburg. Mr. Rhodes and Dr. Jameson appear to have entered into conversation with the High Commissioner on the subject of his presence at Johannesburg in the event of possible or probable disturbances there, but concealed from him the fact that they were themselves the principal organizers and movers in the intended revolution.

The assurance given by Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Beit of the presence of the High Commissioner was used without his knowledge or consent as an argument and encouragement to promote the insurrection; conduct which your Committee severely condemns.

This assurance having been given, the date of the insurrection was finally arranged for Saturday, 28th December, 1895, and Mr. Rhodes informed Dr. Jameson on 23rd December that 'they are very anxious you must not start before 8 o'clock.'

At this date all the parties were agreed as to the immediate carrying out of the Raid—Mr. Rhodes at Cape Town, the Committee at Johannesburg, and Dr. Jameson at Pitsani.

On 26th December, however, another obstacle arose; Dr. Jameson's brother, from Johannesburg, and Mr. Rhodes, from Cape Town, telegraphed to Dr. Jameson at Pitsani, that—

'It is absolutely necessary to postpone flotation through unforeseen circumstances here altogether unexpected and until we have C. J. Rhodes' absolute pledge that authority of Imperial Government will not be insisted on. Charles

SELECT COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

Leonard left last night to interview C. J. Rhodes. We will endeavour to meet your wishes as regards December, but you must not move until you have received instructions to. Please confirm.'

Mr. C. Leonard was thereupon dispatched by the revolutionary party to Cape Town, and messengers sent by them to Dr. Jameson to prohibit his entrance into the Transvaal. Mr. Rhodes, also, with expressions of regret, directed Dr. Jameson not to move until he heard from him again.

On 27th December, 1895, Dr. Jameson informed Mr. Rhodes that 'if they do not, we will make our own flotation with help of letter, which I will publish.' On 28th December, Dr. Jameson telegraphed to Mr. Rhodes, 'there will be no flotation if left to themselves.' On the same day telegrams were sent from Cape Town to Dr. Jameson. 'It is all right if you will only wait,' and further, 'After seeing him' (Heany, the messenger from Johannesburg), 'you and we must judge regarding flotation, but all our foreign friends are now dead against it, and say public will not subscribe one penny towards it, even with you as director. Ichabod.'

Mr. C. Leonard having arrived on that day (Saturday, 28th December), at Cape Town, Mr. Rhodes telegraphed to Colonel Rhodes at Johannesburg, 'Charles Leonard says flotation not popular, and England's bunting will be resisted by public. Is it true? Consult all our friends and let me know, as Dr. Jameson is quite ready to move resolution, and is only waiting for Captain Maurice Heany's arrival.'

Later on the same day (28th December), Dr. Jameson telegraphed to Mr. Rhodes, 'Unless I hear definitely to the contrary, shall leave to-morrow evening.'

On the next day (29th December), Dr. Jameson telegraphed to Mr. Rhodes, 'Shall leave to-night for Transvaal.'

These last two telegrams were delivered at 11 a.m. on Sunday, 29th December.

There is a conflict of evidence as to what were the true grounds which determined the revolutionary party at Johan-

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

nesburg on 26th December to counter-order the insurrection which had been fixed for the 28th, and to prohibit the invasion of the Transvaal by Dr. Jameson, which had been settled for that day.

Colonel Rhodes states that it was 'because they would not rise until they got a distinct assurance about the flag, and they only got that on the Sunday morning. We were told in the telegram we got from Cape Town' (from C. Leonard), 'that an entirely new departure had been decided on.'

Dr. Wolff attributes the failure to the fact that, being unable to seize the arsenal at Pretoria, they were quite unprepared.

Mr. C. Leonard gives the same reasons, as well as the difficulty about the flag.

Mr. Phillips says they had not arms for their men.

Mr. Rhodes, on Saturday, 28th December, informed Sir Graham Bower 'that all prospect of a rising at Johannesburg was at an end, and had fizzled out like a damp squib.'

On Sunday, 29th December, Mr. Rhodes having received the telegrams announcing the intention of Dr. Jameson to start on the Sunday night, proposed to send the following reply, dated 29th December, 12 (noon):—'Things in Johannesburg I yet hope to see amicably settled. . . . On no account whatever must you move. I most strongly object to such a course.' The wires not being open to Mafeking this telegram was, in fact, never dispatched. When communication was restored at noon on the 30th, no attempt was made by Mr. Rhodes to send this or any other message disapproving Dr. Jameson's action. The wires having been cut by Dr. Jameson's orders on the Sunday night when he started, the intelligence of his invasion of the Transvaal was not officially known at Cape Town till mid-day on Monday, 30th December.

The announcement of the collapse of the movement was communicated by Sir Graham Bower to the High Commissioner on Sunday, 29th December. On that night, at 11 p.m., Mr. Rhodes sent for Sir G. Bower, and informed him that Dr. Jameson had intimated his intention of entering the Transvaal that evening, and that he, Mr. Rhodes, had been endeavouring to telegraph to

SELECT COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

Dr. Jameson, forbidding such a movement, but found the wires had been cut.

Sir G. Bower communicated this information to the High Commissioner at an early hour on the morning of Monday, the 30th.

The High Commissioner at once telegraphed to Mr. Newton, directing him, if Dr. Jameson had gone in, to send a special messenger on a fast horse to overtake him, and order him to return.

The High Commissioner, on the 31st December, issued a proclamation publicly repudiating Dr. Jameson's conduct, and calling on British subjects to abstain from aiding and abetting him in his armed violation of the territory of a friendly State. The further action taken by the High Commissioner, as well as the steps taken by the Colonial Office on receipt of the news of the Raid, are detailed in Blue Books C. 7933 and C. 8063.

When the Raid took place Mr. Rhodes declined to take part in any measures to arrest it or to avert its consequences, except that subsequently on Wednesday, 1st January, Mr. Rhodes telegraphed to Colonel Spreckley, Buluwayo, on no account to move the Rhodesia Horse. As soon as the incursion of Dr. Jameson was known, Mr. Rhodes was enjoined by the Secretary of State through the High Commissioner to co-operate in directing Dr. Jameson's immediate return, and to make a public disavowal of complicity with him. His colleagues in the Cape Government urged upon him the same course. This Mr. Rhodes refused to do, and when the High Commissioner resolved to issue his proclamation on the 31st December, Mr. Rhodes returned to Cape Town specially to urge the delay of the issue of this proclamation, at all events till next day, saying it would make Dr. Jameson an outlaw. So far from co-operating in order to counteract the invasion of Dr. Jameson, Mr. Rhodes telegraphed messages to Miss Shaw in London on 30th December and 31st December, whilst Dr. Jameson was on the march, with the object of inducing the Secretary of the Colonies to support his action.

These messages, however, were not communicated by Miss Shaw to the Colonial Secretary.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Dr. Jameson proceeded with his invasion of the Transvaal. He was overtaken by the messenger from Mafeking, sent by order of the High Commissioner, at midday on Tuesday, 31st December; met by the one from Pretoria on the morning of the 1st January, about 10.30 a.m.; and these messages ordering him to return were duly delivered. He, however, declined to obey the summons, stating that he relied upon the letter of invitation which he had received 'from the principal residents of the Rand to come to the aid of my fellow-men in their extremity.' The manner in which this letter was obtained, and the use made of it, have already been referred to in this report.

The details of the defeat of Dr. Jameson by the Boers, and the subsequent events at Johannesburg and Pretoria, are sufficiently well known, and it is not necessary to set them forth.

Mr. Rhodes in the course of his statement dealt with three points particularly pertinent to the subject of inquiry, namely:—

- (a) The influence of the Uitlander 'grievances' upon his conduct and policy;
- (b) The direct assertion that Dr. Jameson 'went in' without his authority; and
- (c) The concealment of his views from the Board of Directors of the British South Africa Company.

UITLANDER 'GRIEVANCES.'

In reference to the first of the points mentioned in the last paragraph, namely, the influence of the Uitlander 'grievances' upon Mr. Rhodes' conduct and policy; Mr. Rhodes puts these 'grievances' in the forefront of his statement, and makes them in great part the foundation of the policy which induced him to assist the movement for redress with his purse and with his influence.

While your Committee were quite unable to hold that these 'grievances' could in any way justify such action as that adopted by Mr. Rhodes and Dr. Jameson, the Committee determined to admit evidence bearing upon this side of the question, not in justification of the conspiracy against the Transvaal Government,

SELECT COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

but because it had been stated in evidence that the origin of 'the incursion' was due to the grievances.

Mr. Charles Leonard, at one time Chairman of the National Union at Johannesburg, and Mr. Lionel Phillips, a prominent member of that body, gave evidence as to the 'grievances' of the Uitlander population, and as to the endeavours of the Union to obtain redress. Mr. Leonard also described the gradual advance of popular feeling, the formation of the Union by the professional and working classes of Johannesburg, the reluctance of the capitalists to join, and their subsequent adhesion. It was also made clear that in the years preceding 1895 popular discontent prevailed in the town, and that disturbances might have occurred at any time; it was further proved that it was not until October, 1895, that the active co-operation of the capitalists was secured.

In October, 1895, after consultation with Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Hammond, and Colonel Rhodes at Cape Town, Mr. Leonard prepared a manifesto, in which the demands were set out in the following terms:—

'We want, (1) Full representation in the Councils of the State in proportion to our numbers and vested interests; being the majority of the people we claim to be included in a true government of the people by the people for the people; (2) Proper control of public moneys and true responsibility to the people; (3) Absolute independence of the courts and the raising of the status of the judges; (4) The possession and control of our railways and public works; (5) The abolition of monopolies; (6) Free trade with the neighbouring States of South Africa in all products thereof; (7) A settled policy which, while guarding the legitimate interests of the South African Republic zealously, shall foster the goodwill of the other South African States and strengthen the bonds of commerce and good feeling between us and them; (8) Pure administration; (9) Equal rights for the English and Dutch languages.'

From 1890 to 1895 there were repeated endeavours to obtain

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

redress of these grievances by constitutional means, but without result.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ACTUAL RAID.

The next point in Mr. Rhodes' statement to be dealt with is (b), his declaration that Dr. Jameson 'went in' without his authority.

In his written statement Mr. Rhodes said, 'Acting within my rights, in the autumn of 1895 I placed on territory under the administration of the British South Africa Company upon the borders of the Transvaal a body of troops under Dr. Jameson, prepared to act in the Transvaal in certain eventualities.' When under examination he was asked what he intended to convey by the phrase 'acting within my rights.' Ultimately he did not defend either the expression or the policy, and accepted responsibility for the massing of the troops.

It being admitted that the force was placed on the frontier under the command of Dr. Jameson with Mr. Rhodes' approval, the important point for consideration is, whether any evidence has been furnished to your Committee tending to show that Mr. Rhodes was not justified in saying that 'with reference to the Jameson raid . . . Dr. Jameson went in without my authority.'

After Mr. Rhodes, Dr. Jameson himself is the principal witness upon this point. At the conclusion of the statement which he read to the Committee, Dr. Jameson said, 'I desire to state that no telegram, message, or other communication was at any time received by me or any one at Pitsani or Mafeking from Mr. Rhodes, or any one at Cape Town, directing or authorising my force to move to Johannesburg. I acted entirely on my own judgment. Major Heany brought me no message from Mr. Rhodes or any one at Cape Town.' This reference to Major Heany was, no doubt, made because it had been suggested that, although that officer purported to be a messenger sent by the Reform Committee at Johannesburg with a verbal message to Dr. Jameson requesting him to postpone his coming, he (Heany) did, in fact, carry some instructions from Mr. Rhodes to Dr. Jameson in a directly contrary sense.

SELECT COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

Your Committee had an opportunity of hearing the evidence of Major Heany, who swore that he did not take any message to Dr. Jameson except that from Mr. Hammond and certain members of the Reform Union with which he had been specially entrusted, namely, 'to tell Dr. Jameson under no circumstances to move.' The witness further said, 'I may fairly say that I had no communication whatever with Mr. Rhodes.'

The evidence confirms the statement that Dr. Jameson 'went in' at the time he did without the authority of Mr. Rhodes.

RESPONSIBILITY OF DIRECTORS OF THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY.

The remaining point upon Mr. Rhodes' statement is (c) the concealment of his views from the Board of Directors of the British South Africa Company.

Mr. Rhodes admitted in his evidence that he did not communicate his 'views' to the Board of Directors of the Company, and it is evident that he not only refrained from expressing his opinions, but also carefully abstained from telling the Directors anything about his support of the Johannesburg movement 'with his purse and influence,' or about the real use to which the Company's forces on the Transvaal border might be put in certain eventualities. Mr. Rhodes said he did not communicate his plans to his colleagues, because he 'did not wish to mix any one up in it;' this policy of secrecy was pursued by him not only with the Board of Directors of the Chartered Company, but also with the High Commissioner, and his colleagues in the Cape Ministry.

Your Committee have heard the evidence of all the Directors of the British South Africa Company, who were members of the Board at the time of the Jameson raid, with the exception of Lord Grey. The evidence of the Duke of Abercorn, President, and of the Duke of Fife, Lord Gifford, Sir Horace Farquhar, and Mr. George Cawston, established the fact that these gentlemen had no knowledge that there was any intention in the mind of any person that the troops of the Company should be used for any purpose

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

against the South African Republic. On the other hand, it was established that Mr. A. Beit and Mr. J. R. Maguire, Mr. Rhodes' proxy under Sub-section 2 of Article 89 of the Company's Deed of Settlement, were generally conversant with the objects and proceedings of Mr. Rhodes.

It is necessary to add a few words with reference to Lord Grey. Dr. Harris stated in his evidence that he was not prepared to say that Lord Grey knew nothing about the 'Jameson plan,' and admitted that he had had conversations with Lord Grey in which he might have alluded to it. As Lord Grey is in South Africa acting as Administrator of the Chartered Company, and therefore unable to give evidence, the Committee are not in a position to express any opinion as to his responsibility.

The ignorance, however, of the Board, as a whole, does not exonerate them from their responsibility. The Board were, under their Charter, invested with very large authority over an extensive territory, and the duty devolved upon them to maintain a due supervision over its administration, not only in respect of the commercial interests of the South Africa Company, but also in regard to the Imperial relations of the dominion under their control.

The Duke of Abercorn, the President of the Board, stated 'that Mr. Rhodes had received a power of attorney, giving him the fullest power to do precisely what he liked without consultation with the Board, and the whole of the administration, and everything connected practically with Rhodesia, was carried on by Mr. Rhodes, he simply notifying to the Board what was done.' Under these circumstances, the Committee consider that the Board, as at present constituted, does not fulfil the objects for which it was created, or offer sufficient security against the misuse of the powers delegated to the Chartered Company by the Crown.

RESPONSIBILITY OF IMPERIAL OFFICERS AND OF THE COLONIAL OFFICE.

While investigating 'the origin and circumstances of the incursion into the South African Republic,' two important

COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

questions have arisen ; first, whether any Imperial officer serving the Crown in South Africa had placed himself in a position involving direct or indirect responsibility for the policy which culminated in the entry of Dr. Jameson's force into the Transvaal ; and, secondly, whether the Colonial Office officials at home had received information that could be assumed to convey a warning of the impending incursion.

The Committee have obtained evidence which enables them to answer both these questions decisively.

IMPERIAL OFFICERS AT THE CAPE.

With regard to the first question :—at the time of the occurrences which form the subject of this Inquiry, Lord Rosmead, as High Commissioner, was primarily responsible for the conduct of Her Majesty's Government in South Africa, and your Committee state, in the most emphatic terms, that there is no evidence whatever that he had the slightest knowledge of the plot or of the intended use of an armed force within the Transvaal, both of which were purposely concealed from him. The Committee ascertained that the state of Lord Rosmead's health disabled him from giving evidence before the Committee ; but they have received from him an absolute denial of any such knowledge on his part. In the opinion of your Committee, under most trying and difficult circumstances, the High Commissioner did everything that was possible to maintain the honour of his country.

Sir Graham Bower, the Imperial Secretary to the High Commissioner at Cape Town, and Mr. Newton, the Resident Commissioner in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, were acquainted with the intentions of Mr. Rhodes, 'in certain eventualities,' to use the force stationed on the borders of the Transvaal within the Republic itself, and it was clearly their duty to have put the High Commissioner in possession of the facts. Sir Graham Bower said, in his evidence, that he received communications from Mr. Rhodes in confidence, and felt bound in honour not to inform the High Commissioner. Sir G. Bower further added that he 'understood that before those troops were used, or any action was taken, Mr.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Rhodes would himself make some communication to the High Commissioner.'

Mr. Newton admitted, in his evidence, that although he had received definite information as to the proposed use of Dr. Jameson's force, he did not, during his visit to Cape Town, say a word to the High Commissioner about it. It appears, however, that prior to the Raid, Mr. Newton had serious misgivings as to the position in which he was placing himself by his reticence, and that he talked to Mr. Rhodes and Sir G. Bower as to the propriety of informing the High Commissioner; unfortunately, however, Mr. Newton allowed himself to be persuaded by Mr. Rhodes that to do so would be premature, as 'it was very doubtful whether anything was going to happen,' and because 'he led him to believe that the Imperial authorities would not be averse to any movement in Johannesburg.'

COLONIAL OFFICE KNOWLEDGE.

With regard to the second question, namely, whether the Colonial Office officials at home had received information that could be assumed to convey a warning of the impending incursion :—

Your Committee answer this question decisively in the negative. Nothing in the course of the inquiry indicating that the Colonial Office had received, either directly or indirectly, any information on the subject of the Jameson plan was forthcoming until Dr. R. Harris, while giving in his evidence a description of an interview he had had at the Colonial Office on the subject of the transfer of the Bechuanaland Protectorate to the Company, said: 'It was present to my mind that, in the event of a rising at Johannesburg, Mr. Rhodes wished to be in a position to render assistance with the police forces of the British South Africa Company, should certain eventualities arise. I made no explicit statement to that effect, but I referred to the unrest at Johannesburg, and added a guarded allusion to the desirability of there being a police force near the border. Mr. Chamberlain at once demurred to the turn the conversation had taken. I never

COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

referred to the subject again at that or at either of two subsequent interviews I had with Mr. Chamberlain.'

Immediately after hearing this evidence of Dr. Harris, the Secretary of State for the Colonies tendered himself as a witness, and stated what took place at the interview in question between himself, certain officials of the Colonial Office, and representatives of the British South Africa Company with reference to the proposed transfer of the Protectorate, and concluded by stating: 'I desire to say in the most explicit manner that I had not then, and that I never had any knowledge, or, until, I think it was the day before the actual raid took place, the slightest suspicion of anything in the nature of a hostile or armed invasion of the Transvaal. The gentlemen who were my colleagues in office, Lord Selborne, the Under Secretary of State, and Sir Robert Meade, will be ready to speak for themselves. Mr. Fairfield is dead, and the public service has lost a most honourable, loyal devoted, and able public servant; but I say, from communications which I have had with Mr. Fairfield and with the other gentlemen named, I am convinced that they had no more suspicion than I had myself.'

Dr. Harris was subsequently further examined, and in the course of his evidence allusions were made to certain telegrams which had passed between himself, when in England, and Mr. Rhodes in South Africa, and *vice versa*, from July to November, 1895. Dr. Harris declined either to put in these telegrams or to authorise the Eastern Telegraph Company to produce them. The Eastern Telegraph Company, over whose cables the telegrams in question had passed, were thereupon ordered by the Committee to produce copies of any telegrams in their possession passing between Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Harris, between the 27th July and the 30th November, 1895.

On being served with this order, the Manager of the Telegraph Company attended the Committee, and declined to produce any telegrams which were in their possession, upon the ground that, by the terms of the International Convention, by which the Company were bound, the Company were prohibited from pro-

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

ducing the copies of any telegrams, except with the consent of the senders or receivers. The Committee, after hearing counsel on behalf of the Telegraph Company in support of this objection, decided that the order of the Committee must be obeyed and the telegrams produced.

At a subsequent meeting of the Committee, the telegrams which had passed between the parties from the 1st November onwards were produced, the telegrams prior to that date having been destroyed in the ordinary course of business.

It was given in evidence by Mr. Hawksley that in February, 1896, he went, after obtaining the authority of Mr. Rhodes, to see Mr. Fairfield at the Colonial Office, and informed him that communications by telegraph had passed between London and Cape Town, which had been used to support Mr. Rhodes' action in South Africa.

On receipt of this communication, Mr. Fairfield, at the request of Mr. Chamberlain, asked Mr. Hawksley for copies, but the request was not complied with at the time, and the matter dropped.

But in June, 1896, in compliance with a further request from Mr. Chamberlain, a copy was sent to the Colonial Office for 'confidential perusal and return,' and was accordingly returned to Mr. Hawksley, who admitted that he retained it in his possession.

The Committee called upon him to produce the telegrams, but he declined to do so, and relied upon Mr. Rhodes' objection to their production when under examination. The Committee informed Mr. Hawksley that their order must be obeyed; he persisted, however, in declining to produce the copy of the telegrams, and said: 'Mr. Rhodes adheres to the decision he maintained when he was before the Committee in the early part of this year; and, with very great respect, I need not say I still feel that my duty compels me to act upon the instructions I have received from Mr. Rhodes.'

Thereupon Mr. Chamberlain made a further statement with reference to the production of the telegrams and their general purport.

COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

With regard to the number of the telegrams produced to the Colonial Office by Mr. Hawksley, Mr. Chamberlain said : ' I know for instance that most, I do not think all, but most of the telegrams which have been already published were included in them, and there were, I know, some telegrams which were sent before the time with which these telegrams deal ; but I do not think there could have been very many of them, because I was away abroad the greater part of the time, and no interviews of any sort were taking place, except between the Chartered Company and the Chiefs (they were negotiating in my absence), and it was not until I returned that the negotiations began again.'

It would seem, therefore, that most of the telegrams included in the copy sent to the Colonial Office have been obtained by your Committee from the Eastern Telegraph Company. With regard to the contents of the telegrams sent to the Colonial Office, but not produced by the Eastern Telegraph Company, Mr. Chamberlain said : ' Generally . . . those that were not produced are very similar in character to those that have been produced.'

In this further statement Mr. Chamberlain intimated that there was nothing in the evidence which he had heard since he first appeared as a witness, nor in the telegrams produced to the Committee, nor in those which he had seen at the Colonial Office, which caused him in any way to modify or qualify the statement he made that he had no foreknowledge of the raid nor of the preparations for the raid, and had given no approval to it.

The Earl of Selborne (Under Secretary of State for the Colonies) also attended the Committee and gave similar evidence. He said : ' The fact remains that from no quarter did the Colonial Office receive any warning ;' and with reference to Mr. Fairfield he added, ' I have spoken of my constant communications with him (Mr. Fairfield) in the autumn of 1895 prior to the Raid ; after the Raid, and until he was seized with his fatal illness in the autumn of 1896, we repeatedly discussed together the events of the previous year, sometimes alone, but very often with Sir Robert Meade, and I am absolutely convinced of the fact that he had no suspicion of the plan of Dr. Jameson.'

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Your Committee fully accept the statements of the Secretary of State for the Colonies and of the Under Secretary, and entirely exonerate the officials of the Colonial Office of having been in any sense cognisant of the plans which led up to the incursion of Dr. Jameson's force into the South African Republic.

It is clear from the evidence of Mr. Hawksley, and his letter of 5th February, 1896, that the telegrams in question conveyed the impression that the action of Mr. Rhodes was known and approved at the Colonial Office.

The fact that Mr. Rhodes (after having authorised that they should be shown to Mr. Chamberlain) has refused to allow them to be produced before the Committee, leads to the conclusion that he is aware that any statements purporting to implicate the Colonial Office contained in them were unfounded, and the use made of them in support of his action in South Africa was not justified.

The Committee also made an order on the Eastern Telegraph Company for the production of certain telegrams which had passed between Miss Flora Shaw and Mr. Rhodes on the subject of the incursion. These telegrams were produced, and Miss Shaw was examined as to their general purport and the meaning of certain statements and references contained in them.

Your Committee were satisfied that the statements and references contained therein, and referring to the suggested knowledge of the Colonial Secretary and the Colonial Office, had no justification; indeed, Miss Shaw stated that she 'never at any time gave the Colonial Office any information about the Plan,' and 'never at any time received any information from the Colonial Office about the Plan.'

The Committee also endeavoured to obtain from Dr. Harris an explanation of the telegrams sent by him to Miss Shaw on Mr. Rhodes' account, but the summons of the Committee did not reach Dr. Harris, as he had gone abroad and his address could not be obtained.

COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

DISOBEDIENCE TO ORDER TO PRODUCE COPY TELEGRAMS.

The Committee feel it to be their duty to report the refusal of Mr. Hawksley, acting on Mr. Rhodes' instructions, to produce the copy of the telegrams which was shown to Mr. Chamberlain and is referred to above.

Mr. Hawksley was required on 25th May, 1897, to produce those telegrams, and after telegraphing to Mr. Rhodes, and receiving no reply, declined to do so on the ground that he regarded himself as bound by his previous instructions.

The question having been raised as to whether Mr. Hawksley was entitled as solicitor to refuse the production of the telegrams, which it was admitted Mr. Rhodes himself could have been compelled to produce, the Committee heard counsel in support of the objection, but decided that the ground raised was no justification, and ordered Mr. Hawksley to produce them. Mr. Hawksley replied that 'Mr. Rhodes adheres to his decision to refuse the production of the telegrams,' and Mr. Hawksley still declined to produce them.

It became necessary, therefore, for the Committee to consider the course which they should pursue. It cannot reasonably be doubted, having regard to the use already made of these telegrams, that they would have been produced to your Committee if their contents could in any way have relieved either Mr. Rhodes or his subordinates from the responsibility now attaching to them. Your Committee deemed that the consideration of their Report should not be delayed on account of the non-production of these telegrams by the person principally interested in their publication; nor did they think that a knowledge of the telegrams was in any way essential to the completion of their inquiry. On the other hand, the telegrams could not have been obtained without great delay. The person against whom proceedings should properly have been taken to compel their production was, in the opinion of your Committee, not Mr. Hawksley, but Mr. Rhodes, by whose order they were withheld. Mr. Rhodes was in South Africa; and to have delayed until his

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

presence could have been procured, would have involved such a loss of time as would have made it impossible to report upon the Raid during the present Session of Parliament, a matter which appeared to your Committee, in the interests of South Africa, of such urgent and primary importance, that all other considerations must yield to it. They, therefore, determined to close the evidence, in order that they might report to the House on the Raid before the end of the Session.

The same reasons prevented them from delaying until Earl Grey could be summoned as a witness.

THE RAID AND STOCK-JOBGING MOTIVES.

Suggestions have been made by questions to witnesses and otherwise that certain persons who were intimately connected with this matter, notably Mr. A. Beit, Mr. Lionel Phillips, and Dr. Rutherford Harris, embarked in the proceedings which resulted in the Raid for stock-jobbing purposes. Your Committee feel that in justice they ought to say that no evidence in support of such a charge has been produced, and they hold that the charge is entirely without foundation.

CONCLUSIONS.

Your Committee now proceed to sum up the results of their inquiry.

I. Great discontent had, for some time previous to the incursion, existed in Johannesburg, arising from the grievances of the Uitlanders.

II. Mr. Rhodes occupied a great position in South Africa; he was Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, and, beyond all other persons, should have been careful to abstain from such a course of action as that which he adopted. As Managing Director of the British South Africa Company, as Director of the De Beers Consolidated Mines and the Goldfields of South Africa, Mr. Rhodes controlled a great combination of interests; he used his position and those interests to promote and assist his policy.

Whatever justification there might have been for action on

COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

the part of the people of Johannesburg, there was none for the conduct of a person in Mr. Rhodes' position, in subsidising, organizing, and stimulating an armed insurrection against the Government of the South African Republic, and employing the forces and resources of the Chartered Company to support such a revolution. He seriously embarrassed both the Imperial and Colonial Governments, and his proceedings resulted in the invasion of the territory of a State which was in friendly relations with Her Majesty, in breach of the obligation to respect the right to self-government of the South African Republic under the Conventions between Her Majesty and that State. Although Dr. Jameson 'went in' without Mr. Rhodes' authority, it was always part of the plan that these forces should be used in the Transvaal in support of an insurrection. Nothing could justify such a use of such a force, and Mr. Rhodes' heavy responsibility remains, although Dr. Jameson at the last moment invaded the Transvaal without his direct sanction.

III. Such a policy once embarked upon inevitably involved Mr. Rhodes in grave breaches of duty to those to whom he owed allegiance. He deceived the High Commissioner representing the Imperial Government, he concealed his views from his colleagues in the Colonial Ministry and from the Board of the British South Africa Company, and led his subordinates to believe that his plans were approved by his superiors.

IV. Your Committee have heard the evidence of all the Directors of the British South Africa Company, with the exception of Lord Grey. Of those who were examined, Mr. Beit and Mr. Maguire alone had cognisance of Mr. Rhodes' plans. Mr. Beit played a prominent part in the negotiations with the Reform Union; he contributed large sums of money to the revolutionary movement, and must share full responsibility for the consequences.

V. There is not the slightest evidence that the late High Commissioner in South Africa, Lord Rosmead, was made acquainted with Mr. Rhodes' plans. The evidence, on the contrary, shows that there was a conspiracy to keep all information

POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

on the subject from him. The Committee must, however, express a strong opinion upon the conduct of Sir Graham Bower, who was guilty of a grave dereliction of duty in not communicating to the High Commissioner the information which had come to his knowledge. Mr. Newton failed in his duty in a like manner.

VI. Neither the Secretary of State for the Colonies nor any of the officials of the Colonial Office received any information which made them, or should have made them or any of them, aware of the plot during its development.

VII. Finally, your Committee desire to put on record an absolute and unqualified condemnation of the Raid and of the plans which made it possible. The result caused for the time being grave injury to British influence in South Africa. Public confidence was shaken, race feeling embittered, and serious difficulties were created with neighbouring States.

PART II.

As regards the second part of the Inquiry, relating to the Administration of the British South Africa Company, your Committee have received from the Colonial Office a Report by Sir Richard Martin, Commandant-General, and Deputy Commissioner in Rhodesia.

The Board of the Chartered Company desired an opportunity of examining and replying to that Report, but their answer has not yet been received by the Committee.

This part of the inquiry would require a lengthened investigation, which it would be impossible to deal with at this period of the Session. This, however, should not in the opinion of the Committee affect any action which the Executive Government may deem immediately necessary under the circumstances.

13 *July*, 1897.

INDEX.

ABERCORN, Duke of, knowledge of the raid, 447, 448
Africa, South, political situation in, 3-20
 dangers of racial war in, 61
Afrikaner Bond, some condemnation of the, 6
 result of an opposition to, 159
 formation and power, 188, 214
Afrikaners, name applied to, 340
Aliens, dictum on justice to, 260
Aliens' Expulsion Law, origin of, 108
Allegiance, willingness to tender, 392, 405, 409
America, United States of, protection tariffs
 a failure in, 247
 points in the Constitution of, 301-313
 re-eligibility of its President, 302
 a comparison of policy, 332
 law for office of President, 333
Americans on the Reform Committee, 71
American President, duties of, 304
Amsterdam, seat of railway management, 250
Anglophobia retards emancipation, 342
Angra Pequena, annexation of, 18
April Case, scandalous treatment shown in, 31, 107
Argentine Republic, franchise law in, 333
Auret, J. G., member of deputation to President Kruger, 199, 203
 'The Growth of the Constitution in this Republic,' an address, 293-314
Australia, tariff protection a failure in, 247

BACON, Lord, extracts from, 329
Ballot Act, its need and utility, 239
Barberton, 51
 representation of, 338
Barnato, B., concession transferred to, 104
Beelaerts van Blokland, his *protégé*, 130
Beit, Alfred, represented before Select Committee, 429
 knowledge of the raid, 436, 437, 457
 Select Committee's finding on, 456, 457
Bettington, R. A., speeches and resolutions of, 251, 287
Bewaarplaatsen, statement regarding rights to, 30, 126
 memorandum of undermining rights under, 126-128, 145-150
Bloemfontein, railway scheme for, 367
Bluntschli as an authority, 321
Boer population and condition, 51
 means of educating the, 255
Boers, early history of, 293-295
 objection to taxation, 169
 reason for their distrust, 62, 137, 166, 272
 imitating the, 274
 military activity of, 382
 reform movement among, 420
Boksburg, 32
Bondsmen, condemnation of, 6
Boomplaats, 294
Bower, Sir Graham, position and knowledge of raid, 442, 449
 finding of Select Committee on, 458
Braamfontein, Eloff's claim of, 104

INDEX.

- Brand, President, good taste shown by, 304
 Brazil, franchise law in, 333
 British South Africa Company cited, 170
 represented before Select Committee, 429
 knowledge and responsibility of the raid, 447, 457
 Bryce, extracts from, 300, 302-313
 Burgers, Rev. Thomas, elected as President, 302
 Burgher, use and misuse of term, 320, 325
 Burghers, influence of conduct, 4
 rights of, 28, 83, 334, 372
 population returns, 83
 farms held by, 112
 Bynkershoek, Professor, extract on public law from, 330
- CAPE COLONY**, population, 7
 its administration by the Dutch, 9
 administration by the English, 11-20
 franchise methods in, 169
 immigration, 293
 system of legislative government, 311
 general feeling in, 365
 railway enterprise, 367
 no extradition for political offence at, 399
 Cape, responsibility of Imperial officers at the, 448
 Capitalists ignore the Uitlanders' Union, 42, 77, 80, 284, 369, 370
 as described by an advocate, 80, 370
 political apathy of, 286
 accepted by National Union, 369, 370
 Carr, W. St. John, speeches and resolutions, 184, 210, 239
 Cawston, George, knowledge and responsibility of the raid, 447
 Chamberlain, Right Hon. J., indebtedness to, 46
 Uitlanders' confidence in, 60
 on the production of telegrams, 452
 Chartered Company, *see* British South Africa Company
 Chief Justice, *see* Kotze, J. G.
 Cilliers, John, an opinion from, 68
 Civil Service corruption and fraud, 29, 96, 377
 Class taxation, *see* Taxation
- Cleveland, President, his messages ignored by Congress, 305
 Coal, story of a company promotion for, 124
 Colonial Office, Committee's report on its knowledge of the raid, 450
 Colonies, reasons for founding, 328
 Commandeering objected to without the franchise, 57, 79, 80, 260, 267, 287, 370
 Commerce, effects of bad colonisation on, 10
 Concessions the outcome of hostility to England, 123, 125
 Constitution, attempts to alter, 373
 Convention, ignoring the spirit of the, 46
 Critic a supporter of the Uitlanders' cause, 161
 Customs Act, its abuse, 171
 Customs law, no exemption for English materials, 96
 Cyanide, establishing a monopoly for, 55, 125
 Czar, similarity of his power, 27
- DE BEERS** Company, arms smuggled through, 438
 De Jagers, grateful thanks to, 26, 78, 339, 368
 Delagoa Bay, designs near, 18
 expense of festivities, 28
 reason for using, 96
 railway extension to, 367
 Derdeport, resolution of Boer meeting at, 295
 de Wet, Sir J. A., resolution and speeches of thanks to, 287, 288
 Doms, Theodore, unjust treatment of, 313, 374
 Drakensberg, occupation of, 294
 Dutch, administration by, 9
 population returns, 83
 reason for the prejudice of, 166, 181, 187
 Dutch East India Company, tyrannical policy of, 9
 Dutch language, enforced in the Transvaal, 417, 418
 equal rights with English asked for, 424
 Dutch Church, a dispute and comparison, 116

INDEX.

- Dutch Reformed Church, grant of land to, 104
- Dynamite, abuses of a monopoly in, 34, 54, 87
 reasons for the monopoly, 95, 123, 125
 historical notes with clauses of the concession for, 138-144
- E**ASTERN Telegraph Company represented before Select Committee, 430
 on the production of telegrams by, 430, 451
- Education, grievances relative to, 91
- Egypt, comparison of the seizure of, 337
- Eloff, F., cases in which he was concerned, 103
- England, influence in South Africa, 3-20
 policy in Cape Colony, 11-20
 obligations of, 46, 60
 full customs exacted from, 96
 method of settling complications with, 271
 reason of greatness, 280
 position in South Africa, 337
- English, showing hostility to the, 108, 123
 reasons for hating, 325
 reasons for founding new colonies, 328
 no progress while hating the, 342
- English flag, question of hoisting the, 379, 387, 394, 412-414, 432, 441
- English language, equal rights with the Dutch asked for, 424
- Esselen, Mr., extract from speeches, 74
 sides with Uitlanders—speech by, 195, 215-220
 on President Kruger's insincerity, 217
 his position—unwittingly compromised, 397-399
- Executive, the power of the, 26
- Executive Council, constitution on the, 298
 not nominees of the President, 307
- Extradition Treaty, difference of opinion as to, 400
- F**ACTORIES, Kruger's craze for, 125
- Fairfield, Mr., knowledge of the raid, 451
- Farquhar, Sir Horace, knowledge and responsibility of the raid, 447
- Farrar, George, effect of flag incident on, 379
 raid letter signed by, 438
- Ferreira, Colonel, tried for contravention of the gold law, 105
- Ferreira raid, proof of evidence in the trial, 120
- Fife, Duke of, knowledge and responsibility of the raid, 447
- Flag, reasons for accepting the English, 4
 information respecting incident, 379, 387, 394, 412-414, 432, 441
- France, appointment of senators, 311
- Franchise, reception of petition for, 23, 24, 45, 79
 frustrating the right to Uitlanders, 46, 49, 116, 118, 166, 273, 366
 its history, 46, 65
 necessity of, 59
 capitalists sign petition for, 82
 on signatures for petition, 83, 406
 rights of burghers' sons to, 83, 334, 372
 admissions to the, 117, 207, 217, 221
 conditions and changes in the, 167
 system in Cape Colony, 169
 an appeal for, 182
 ought not to be retrogressive, 273
 on the policy of liberal, 329
 copy of petition—outcome of its rejection, 353, 392, 421
 law in 1855, 167, 282, 324
 law in 1861 and 1866, 221
 law in 1874, 65, 167
 law in 1881, 46
 law in 1882, 65, 167, 324
 law in 1890, 300
 law in 1892, 167
- Fraser, W. P., speech on Volksraad procedure, 188
 supports a new tariff scheme, 248
- Free State, *see* Orange
- G**ARFIELD, James, and the office of President, 303
- Germans, reasons for their fighting, 328
 laws inspired by, 384
- Germany, colonial enterprise, 17
 Socialists' power in, 286
- Gie, dishonesty and suicide, 119

INDEX.

- Gifford, Lord, knowledge and responsibility of the raid, 447
- Gold, value of production, 87
- Gold law, principles for its basis, 120
- Graaf-Reinet, 294
- Grant, U. S., and the office of President, 302
- Greece, its conquering power, 329
- Grey, Lord, his knowledge of the raid, 448, 457
- Grondwet, or Constitution, requirements of, 37
 ignoring the, 117, 275
 people's right to alter, 291
 exposition of its articles, 295-314
 on the executive branch of the, 301
 on the legislative branch of the, 309
 on the judicial aspect of, 313
 need for consistent observing, 345
- HAMILTON**, extract from, 301
 his knowledge of Jameson raid, 380
- Hammond, J. Hays, knowledge of raid—
 position, 364, 370, 411
 raid letter signed by, 438
- Harris, Dr. Rutherford, flag incident attributed to, 387, 388
 represented before Select Committee, 429
 knowledge of the raid, 448
 evidence with extracts, 451
 Select Committee's finding on, 456
- Hawksley, Mr., refuses to produce telegrams, 452-456
- Hay, James, speeches and views, 174-176, 236
- Hayes, R. B., and the office of President, 302
- High Court, its position to the Volksraad, 313
- Hofmeyr, Mr., refuses an office, 13
 non-fulfilment of promise, 389
- Hogg, Major, representative to a convention, 294
- Holland, its occupation of Java, 328
- Hollanders, evil influence of, 28, 33, 70, 73, 81, 93, 109, 110
 suggestion of buying out, 250
 laws inspired by, 384
- Holt, D., speech for the Ballot Act, 242
- Hosken, W., speech and resolution for
 Tariff adjustment, 246
- Hoskins, W. H., speech by, 184
- IMMIGRATION** Law, gravity of its provisions, 109
- Imperialism, question of, 264
- Imperialists, name given to Englishmen, 339
- India, reasons for settling in, 328
- Industry, policy of Government toward, 122
- Italy, composition of Senate, 311
- JACKSON**, and the office of President, 302
- Jameson, Dr. L. S., letter of invitation to, 363, 384
 plans upset by flag rumours, 379
 untimely raid by, 381, 385
 explanation of support expected from, 386, 437
 justifying the letter sent to, 387, 391
 designs of, 389, 393
 identity of operation with, 419
 represented before Select Committee, 429
 method and condemnation for his use of letter, 438, 439, 444
 telegrams from, 429, 441
 reason for refusing to turn back, 444
- Jameson Raid, grievances unaffected by, 41, 384
 an unconstitutional action, 367
 fears concerning the, 379, 387
 press opinion of the, 390
 plans for, 411
 report on the, 429-458
 evidence and responsibility for, 430-435
 historical summary of the, 435-444
 fixing the responsibility for, 446
 suppression of evidence relating to, 452-456
 Select Committee's summary on, 456-458
 urgency of the report on, 456
- Java, reason for its occupation, 328
- Jefferson, T., and the office of President, 302
- Jeppe, Mr., practical sympathy from, 26, 78, 225, 368

INDEX.

Johannesburg, policy of force, 36
 cause of trouble in, 42, 58
 famine and discontent at, 69
 visit of Kruger to, 69
 mass meeting, July 1894, at, 80
 existence of grievances, 92, 438, 456
 truth of the 'stand' scandal, 101, 163
 syndicate's public square grant, 105
 reform enthusiasm at, 111
 curtailing the right of public meeting, 109
 report of mass meeting held August 1892, at, 157
 municipal government of, 161, 224, 375
 stirring appeal to, 171
 report of mass meeting held September 1892, at, 194
 message from President Kruger to the people of, 204
 an opinion of its inhabitants, 252
 builders of, 328, 339
 representation of, 338
 disturbance feared at, 364, 379, 419
 railway scheme for, 367
 flag incident at, 379
 provisioning for, 386
 nature of letters from, 401
Joubert, number of votes recorded for, 83
 as President, 302
Judges, unsatisfactory state of, 27, 90
Jurymen, Uitlanders unable to be, 417
Justice, administration of, 13, 28, 56
 an appeal for, 172
 attempts to thwart, 374

KENT, Chancellor, on naturalisation laws of America, 332

Klein Letaba, representation of, 180
Klerksdorp, 51

means of retaking land at, 104
 representation of, 180

Koch, J. W., corruption in the case of, 103
 106

Kotzé, J. G., extract from speech, 345, 413
 result of address, 375*

Kruger, P., influence on the Volksraad, 24,
 27, 45-51, 56, 78, 88, 137, 219, 290-
 292, 304

indictment of, 27, 74

Kruger, P., condones bribery and fraud,
 29, 55, 96, 101, 306

attitude in native affairs, 31, 107

rejects petitions, 33

hostility and hatred to England, 36, 60,
 368

opponent of Transvaal National Union,
 43, 76, 229

promises, and their fulfilment, 45, 47,
 79, 217, 275, 309, 311

method of retaining power, 49, 52, 66

authorship of press laws, 57

his railway policy, 69, 133, 135, 219, 367

a scene at his residence, 69

votes recorded for, 83, 334

admissions regarding Uitlanders, 76,
 207, 232

misappropriates Government funds, 102

corrupt practices of his son-in-law, 103

reason for opposing mining companies,
 123, 148

outwitted under his own law, 142

Mr. Tudhope's opinion of, 164

blasphemous views from, 175

report of deputation to, 199-204

message to the people, 204

blamed for indifference, 231, 233

extract from his Presidential speech, 234

Land en Volk on his policy, 289

dynamite taxing by, 291

election to President, 302

establishes 'Second Chamber,' 309, 311,
 416

his view of the Volksraad, 312

declared to be Uitlander, 318, 325

accused of compact with Mr. C. Leonard,
 401

Krugersdorp, 32

LAND EN VOLK, acknowledging its
 sympathy, 51, 70, 265

translation of leading article, December
 21st, 1893, from, 289-292

article on Wolmaran's watch, 355

justified attacks on public officials, 97,
 100, 103

Leonard, Charles, comparison of England
 and the Dutch in South Africa, 3-20

loyalty of the colonist, 4

INDEX.

- Leonard, Charles**, effect of cessation of English rule, 16
 Germans and the Dutch, 18
 an appeal to Cape Colony, 20
 Uitlander manifestoes, 23-38, 365, 445
 Chairman of Transvaal National Union, 23, 80, 363
 question of franchise, 24, 366
 indictment of Kruger and Government, 27-29
 statement on native affairs, 31, 106
 requirements of the Union, 37
 case for the Uitlanders, 41-62
 not present in Jameson raid—interview with Mr. Rhodes, 41, 363, 381, 388, 389, 410, 432, 436, 445
 speeches and resolutions of, 42, 164, 205-208, 228-236
 justification of his position, loss of practice, income, 46, 71, 401
 summarises Uitlanders' grievances, 53, 58
 on England's obligation, 60
 suggestions for new treaty, 62
 position of the Uitlander in the Transvaal, and history of the franchise, 65-154
 disillusioned by Kruger, 76
 position of affairs during visit to England, 79
 on the railway concessions, 93, 130
 knowledge of law amendments, 117
 historical notes on dynamite, 138
 italicised copy of Lippert's memorandum, 145-150
 appendices to statements by, 155
 survey of Transvaal early history, 166
 with deputation, interviews President Kruger, 200-204
 explains the President's message, 205-208
 on the commandeering question, 320
 evidence before the Select Committee, 1897, 363-420
 accuses the President of hostility to the English, 368
 illness and circumstances prevent return to Transvaal, 382, 390, 393
 history of letter sent to Dr. Jameson, 363, 384, 438
- Leonard, Charles**, justifies the letter, 387, 391
 reason for visiting England after the raid, 389, 390, 400
 summarises reasons for revolt, 383
 concerning warrant and extradition, 397
 object of vile slander, 401
 paper handed in, May 18th, 1897—Manifesto, 421
 Select Committee's report on, 432, 436-438, 441, 442, 445
- Leonard, Hon. J. W., Q.C.**, speech on the Uitlander's agitation, 178
 speech and resolution on citizen rights, 261-279
 on the oath of allegiance, 270
 summary of protests by, 274
 passionate appeal for justice, 279
- Leyds, Dr.**, and secret service, 29
 his position and influence, 33, 130, 133
 character of, 164
- Linskey**, ignoring his dishonesty, 119, 306
Limpopo fixed as a boundary, 347
- Lincoln, A.**, and the office of President, 302
- Lippert, Ed.**, dynamite concession of, 34, 138-144
 memorandum on undermining rights, 126-128, 145-150
 vital admissions of self, 128, 148, 150
 notarial agreement of mining concessions to, 151-154
- Liquor**, its sale to natives, 108, 160
- Loch, Sir Henry B.**, result of his visit to the Transvaal, 79
 reason for presenting petition to, 260
 resolution and speeches of thanks to, 287, 288
 petition to, 315
 number of signatures to petition, 334
 insulted, 390
- Loveday, Mr.**, tribute to, 26, 78, 94
 denounces the Netherlands Railway Company, 133, 134
- Lydenburg**, 51
 representation of, 180, 297
- MACAULAY, Lord**, extract from speech on the Reform Bill, 278
MacCorquodale, injustice to, 374

INDEX.

Madison and the office of President, 302
 Maguire, Mr., Select Committee's finding on, 457
 Maherry, justifies by accusation, 119
 Maine, Sir Henry, extract from an essay by, 351
 Malaboch, effect of war with, 79, 370
 Manifesto, text of the 1895, 23
 Manifestoes, articles and authors of, 21, 353, 421
 Mansvelt, Dr., 33
 Marais, Mr., acquitted of libel, 102
 votes for Uitlanders, 368
 Marais, Mr. Eugene, patriotism of, 70
 Maritz, Gert, place and date of his new settlement, 293
 Martin, Sir Richard, nature of report from, 458
 Mashonaland cited, 170
 Matabeles antagonistic to Boers, 294
 Mauritius, 10
 Meade, Sir Robert, knowledge of the raid, 451
 Mein, Captain, effect of flag rumour on, 380
 Meyer, reason for paying his costs, 31, 107
 Meyer, Lucas, grateful thanks to, 26, 78, 339
 practical sympathy, 368
 Middleberg, Mr., admissions by, 32
 Military service objected to without franchise, 57, 79, 80, 260, 267, 287, 370
Mining Argus, its support anticipated by Transvaal Union, 187
 Mining companies, attempts to rob, 89
 Mining rights, memorandum on underground, 126-128, 145-150
 translation of agreement transferring, 151-154
 Minister of Mines on judges and the Government, 91
 Monopolies, abuses of, 34, 54, 87, 88, 96
 protest against new, 277
 Monroe and the office of President, 302
 Mooi River, town established on, 294
 Moroko, inhabitants of his country, 293
 Moselkatse, settlers on his pastures, 294
 NATAL, date of proclamation as British Colony, 294
 early occupants of, 294
 formation of Council at, 295

'Nationality,' ideas of a, 6, 7, 19
 Native affairs, attitude of Government in, 31, 107
 Naturalisation, meaning of, 48, 66
 means of obtaining letters of, 300
 Netherlands South African Company's Railway, public credit pledged to, 28
 Kruger's policy, 69, 123
 excessive charges, 87
 indictment of its policy, 93, 249
 history—financial policy—revenue, 130-137
 Newton, Mr., position and knowledge of raid, 449
 Select Committee's finding on, 458
 Nobel's Dynamite Trust, reason for contracts with, 141

ORANGE FREE STATE, independence
 —privileges, 5, 170
 warlike resolution of, 61, 383
 a comparison, 333
 railway extensions in, 367
 Otto, Mr., opposes petition, 45
 Otto, son of Volksraad member—embezzlement by, 119½

PAARDEKRAAL, Government's policy stated at, 175
 Parliament, beneficial influence of, 14
 People jeopardising their rights, 345
 Philadelphia, on the Convention of, 300
 Phillips, Lionel, share in undermining rights, 149
 assistance rendered by, 364, 370, 411, 437
 explanation of his remark, 389
 represented before Select Committee, 429
 raid letter signed by, 438
 Select Committee's finding on, 456
 Pistorius, J. F. E., explains taxation burdens, 202
 Pitsani, headquarters of the Jameson Raid, 432, 435, 439
Plakkerswet, enforcing the, 31
 Plebiscite, basis of compact, 395
 Police, regulations on—inadequate protection, 93, 319, 377
 Potchefstroom, 51

INDEX.

- Potchefstroom, position and origin, 294
 representation in the Volksraad, 297
- Potgieter, Hendrik, place and date of new
 settlement, 293, 294
- President, views on the office of, 43, 49,
 161, 182
 who the voters were, 226
 constitution on the office of, 297
 holders of the office—re-eligibility ques-
 tion, 301
- Press, attack on its liberty defeated, 108
- Press*, source of its manifesto, 73, 229
 and the annexation of Swazieland, 197
 extract from, 337
- Press laws, on proposed new, 56, 57, 384,
 416
- Pretoria, cost of completing fort at, 36
 corrupt intrigue in mining rights at, 129
 on the commandeering at, 262
 its representation in the Volksraad, 297
 principal traders of, 328
 railway extension to, 367
 designs on arsenal, 394, 442
- Pretorius, convention delegate in 1852, 294
- Pretorius, Andries, death-bed warning from,
 348
- Pretorius, Marthinus Wessels, first Presi-
 dent under the Grondwet, 301
 unable to restore confidence, 185
- Prinsloo, government's interest in, 31, 107
- Public service, instances of corruption, 119

RAAD, *see* Volksraad

- Rachman, scandal of his case, 31, 107
- Railway, monopolies of the, 24, 54, 81, 87,
 367
- Railways, policy of Kruger and, 69
- Rait, Mr., on the policy of the National
 Union, 243
- Reform Committee, composition of, 72
- Registration, farce of, 48, 68
- Reitz, President, good taste shown by, 304
- Retief, Pieter, massacre of, 294
- Rhodes, Colonel, assists in planning the
 raid, 364, 385, 411, 437, 438, 442
- Rhodes, Right Hon. C. J., defining his
 position, 263
 report of interview with, 363-365, 379-
 381, 389, 393, 411

- Rhodes, Right Hon. C. J., manifestoes the
 outcome of interview with, 365, 436
 policy concerning the raid, 379, 411, 412
 provisions and basis for the raid, 380,
 386, 394, 411, 436
 retention of Jameson till arms supplied,
 381, 382, 411
 extract from letter, 410
 represented before Select Committee, 429
 evidence of his responsibility for the
 raid, 430-435
 statement of his position, 434, 435, 444,
 446
 author of scheme for insurrection, 436
 concentration of force by, 437
 excuse for concentrating troops, 439
 use of letter by, 439
 telegram on flag rumour, 441
 action after the raid, 443
 concealment of his views, 447, 448
 refuses to produce telegrams, 452-456
 connection with raid summarised, 456-
 458
- Ripon, Marquess of, extract from his dis-
 patches, 409
- Robinson, Sir Hercules, insulted by the
 Boers, 383
 deceived over the raid, 439, 449, 457
 receives news of the raid, 442
 nature of proclamation issued by, 443
- Rogers, W. H., on the interview with Presi-
 dent Kruger, 208
 speech and opinions, 252
- Rome, on the naturalisation policy of, 329,
 336
- 'Rooinek,' reasons for attacking, 5
- Rosmead, Lord, *see* Robinson, Sir H.
- Russia, composition of House of Lords, 311
- Rustenbergh, dangerous public meeting at,
 116
 representation in the Volksraad, 297
 extract from an address at, 345

SCHEEPERS, W. J., speech on Uit- landers' grievances, 220-222

- Schreiner, Mr., suggested policy of, 366
- Second Chamber, date and pretext for form-
 ing, its uselessness, 47, 65, 67, 167,
 236, 272, 275, 285, 309, 310, 325, 326,
 366, 407, 416

INDEX.

- Second Chamber, provision of the law for, 299
 voting rights for, 322
 Secret Service Fund, uses of, 28, 54
 Selati Railway, exposure and denunciation of principals, 97
 public credit pledged to, 28, 55
 bribery of gold watch, 356
 Selborne, Lord, evidence and knowledge of the raid, 451, 453
 Shanks, Mr., speaker at the National Union meeting, 246
 Shaw, Miss Flora, messages on the raid to, 439, 443, 454
 Smallpox, tax for its repression, 115
 Smit, General, and the Uitlander deputation, 200, 203, 206
 Smit, J. S., laxity of the Government in the case of, 99
 Smit, N. J., embezzlement case of, 30, 99, 377
 Solomon, H., speeches and resolutions by, 186, 248
 on interview with President Kruger, 212
 Solomons, Mr. E. P., resolution and appeal from, 176
 South African Republic, *see* Transvaal
 Spain, composition of its Senate, 311
 narrow policy compared, 330
 Spartans, disposition of, 329
 Stamp receipt law, injustice of, 53, 114
 'Stand Scandal,' *see* Johannesburg
Standard and Diggers' News, recognition of justice, 74
 extracts on mass meeting, August, 1892, 157
 its views of Uitlanders' grievances, 162, 173, 190
 its support of Uitlanders anticipated, 187
 extracts from leading articles, August 22nd, 1892, 190
 extract from leading article, June 3rd, 1893, 192
 extracts on mass meeting, September, 1892, 194
 report on National Union meeting, May, 1893, 223
 approves the National Union's programme, 230
 extracts from, 231
 Star supports Uitlanders' cause, 161
 report on Transvaal National Union meeting from, 254-288
 States, stability of, 322
 reasons for founding, 328
Staatscourant, publication of legal notices in, 297, 300, 311, 349
 Stiemens, corruption and case of the, 30, 100, 377
 Stockenström, Sir Andries, opinion on immigration, 293
 Stock-jobbing, not the reason for the raid, 456
 Swazieland, its inclusion desired, 62
 annexation question, 197, 206, 210
 method of settling the question, 271
- ### TARIFF, need and resolution for adjustment, 246
- Taxation, regulations of class, 114
 injustice of the, 25, 53, 414
Times, letter on raid sent to, 439, 443
 Tolls, public protest against, 277
 Tosen, Stoffel, denouncing, 119
 Transvaal, evil effects of war on, 3, 17
 on the independence of, 5
 manifesto of unenfranchised inhabitants, 23, 353
 position of the Uitlanders in, 65
 statement of land-holding in, 112
 history of the Netherlands South African Company's Railway in, 130-137
 survey of early history, 166
 its development, 170
 and Free State privileges, 170
 recognised as an independent state, 294, 295
 table of revenue and expenditure reviewed, 373
 comparison of revenue and expenditure, 358, 359
 its independence not attacked, 389
 form of oath of allegiance to, 405
 Dutch language enforced, 417, 418
 Select Committee's report on the incursion of, 429-458
 Transvaal flag, hauling down the, 69
 Transvaal Government, characteristics of, 228

INDEX.

Transvaal Government, humorous comparison of, 266
public warning to, 284
instance of injustice by, 313

Transvaal National Union, formation and objects, 23, 42, 73, 268, 366
officers and supporters, 23, 80, 157, 159, 181, 188, 194, 223, 254, 263
consideration of questions, 37
ignored by capitalists, 42, 77, 80, 284, 369, 370
recognition of obligations, 79
mass meeting, July, 1894, of, 80
on signatures for petition from, 83, 406
denunciation of the Government, 96-108
report and speeches at its formation, 157
hopes from its establishment, 174
leading articles on its formation, 190
report of deputation to President Kruger, 199
recognised by the Government, 199-215
an answer to their detractors, 226, 227
advice tendered and answered, 238
report of meeting, July, 1894, 254-288
good government the main object of, 281
capitalists accepted by, 369, 370
working man's appeal to, 415
manifesto to be issued by, 421

Transvaal Mining Argus ignorant of the popular movement, 162

Tudhope, Hon. John, chairman of Transvaal National Union, 80, 157, 194, 223, 254, 363
speeches of, 159-165, 181, 188, 196, 204, 223-228
his opinion of President Kruger and Dr. Leyds, 164
justifies his position, 227

UITENHAGE, 294

Uitlanders, summary of grievances and protests, 23-38, 53, 58, 274-277, 338, 365, 421
treatment by Volksraad, 23, 24, 31, 45, 79, 160, 172, 256-258, 315
manifestoes from, 23, 365, 421
unjust taxation of, 25, 85, 144, 169, 273, 414
case for the, 41-62, 157-189

Uitlanders not affected by the raid, 41
obstructive policy from Kruger, 43, 73, 76, 137, 368
moderation and publicity of protests, 44, 61, 80, 186, 365
their franchise and representation, 46, 49, 66, 116, 166, 273, 366
population and condition, 51, 84, 235, 334, 371
Dr. Leyds and their vote, 56
object to military service without the franchise, 57, 79, 80, 260, 267, 287, 370
justification of their claims, 59, 144, 208
confidence in Mr. Chamberlain, 60
position in the Transvaal, history of the franchise, 65-154, 166
sympathisers with, 70, 368, 420
admissions from Kruger respecting, 76, 207, 232, 309
area owned and held by, 85, 112, 372, 421
expropriation of railways suggested by, 95
developers of the country's wealth, 122, 130
powerless to alter the railway policy, 137
reports and resolutions of, 157-189, 194-288
Cape Colony's treatment of, 169
leading articles on their Union at Johannesburg, 190-193
report of deputation to President Kruger, 199-204
contribution to the State, 273
resolution of thanks to Sir H. Loch and Sir J. A. de Wet, 287
Land en Volk on, 289
second chamber a bait for, 309, 311, 366, 407, 416
petition to Sir Henry Loch, 315
Mr. Advocate Wessel's address to, 317-344
meaning of 'Uitlander,' 318
President Kruger one of the, 318, 323
position in the State, 319-334
who are the, 327, 328
Prof. Bynkershoek on the, 330
exclusion from political rights, 334-340
appeal for liberal principles for, 342

INDEX.

Uitlanders, evidence before Select Committee, 363-420
 and the oath of allegiance, 392, 405
 summary of withheld rights, 416
 enforcing Dutch language on, 417, 418
 influence of grievances on the Right Hon. C. J. Rhodes, 434, 444
 United States of America, *see* America
 Upington, Sir Thomas, extradition policy of, 400

VAAL RIVER, 294

Van der Stell, maxim of, 9
 Van der Walt, Mr., explanation of his position, 264
 Van Erkom, his shop as the Government office, 328
 Vereeniging held by the Boers, 382
 Vet River, 294
 Volksraad, nature and reception of petitions, 23, 24, 45, 79, 256-258, 267, 406
 composition and policy, 49, 78
 composition—influence of Kruger in, 88, 291, 304-306
 arbitrary action of, 89, 116
 debate on disqualifying English sympathisers, 124
 and the underground mining rights, 126
 reason for rejecting expropriation memorials, 137
 its corruption, 147, 275
 attitude toward dynamite concession, 160
 native drink traffic and the, 160
 payment of members, 171
 method of memorialising, 188, 203
 its position to the Uitlanders, 233
 outcome of its rejection of petition, 259
 right to control Uitlander interests, 272
 summary of its disposition, 280
 prophecy on continuing their policy of indifference, 284
 review of its position and power, 289-292
 its provisions in the Grondwet, 295-300
 qualification of membership, 296
 early days of, 309, 328

Volksraad, voting power denied to Uitlanders, 319
 representation needed for, 339
 attempt to justify the, 406
 the dominant body, 409
 Volksraad, Second, *see* Second Chamber
Volksstem, owners and policy, 69, 108, 328
 the new press laws in, 57, 384
 Voortrekkers, device adopted by, 272
 opinion on the, 280
 date and place of new settlements, 293
 lines of their Grondwet, 300
 reason for immigration, 326
 Vorster, method for a concession, 97
 Vryheid, representation in the Volksraad, 297

WARNANT, shares in a railway concession, 98

Washington, George, and the office of President, 302, 305
 Watermeyer, Judge, extracts from, 9, 10
 Wessels, Advocate, contempt of the capitalists, 80, 370
 speech on Uitlanders' rights, 279
 address before Uitlanders' Association, 317-344
 summary of Uitlanders' needs, 340
 Williams, injustice to, 374
 Winberg, 294
 Witbooi, reasons for fighting, 328
 Witwatersrand, representation of, 180
 its transformation, 329
 Witwatersrand goldfields, its 1892 contribution tariff, 248
 Wolff, Dr., assistance in the raid, 437
 Wolmarans, A. D. W., challenged on dynamite royalty, 35, 144
 a denunciation and further challenge, 97, 355
 questionable transaction by, 99
 character of, 288

ZANDRIVER Convention, results of, 294
 Zoutpansberg, explorers of, 328
 Zulus, date of a defeat, 294

STRANGEWAYS AND SONS, PRINTERS,
TOWER STREET, CAMBRIDGE CIRCUS, LONDON, W.C.



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY, LOS ANGELES

COLLEGE LIBRARY

This book is due on the last date stamped below.

REC'D COL LIB.
JAN 31 1970

JAN 31 1970

REC'D COL LIB.

FEB 25 1970

FEB 23 1970

UCLA-College Library

DT 775 L55p



L 005 718 281 8

College
Library

DT
775
L55p

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



A 001 100 334 0

